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ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

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FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN RADIYYA FROM UTTAR PRADESH

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

In his study of the inscriptions of the successors of Iltutmish, the late Dr. G. Yazdānī had, while referring to the fact that no inscription of the reign of that monarch's immediate successors, Ruknu'd-Dīn Fīrūz and Raḍiyya were known, expressed the hope that this lacuna in the mural records of the dynasty could be filled if a diligent search for inscriptions was conducted in the old city of Delhi, and in such places as Hansi, Samana, Amroha, Koil and Budaun.[1]

Dr. Yazdānī's hope has at last been fulfilled, however partially. A search at three of the last mentioned places did not yield any such epigraph, but an inscription of queen Raḍiyya has been recently discovered from another place.

This unique, but unfortunately fragmentary, inscription of the famous queen who created history in medieval India, was found at Bulandshahr, headquarters of the district of the same name in Uttar Pradesh, by Mr. A. A. Kādiri, Epigraphical Assistant in our office, who visited different places in that state to trace and copy Arabic and Persian inscriptions. Bulandshahr, or the more celebrated Baran of older times, is a place of great antiquity, situated on the right bank of the Kālī Nadī (river) in 28°15′ N. and 77°52′ E. Its present name is locally believed to be a Persianised version of Unchānagar—elevated city, so called on account of its elevated position on the river-bank. Like Budaun and other places in the north, Bulandshahr is one of the towns which were subjected to Muslim rule from its very early days. As is well-known, Raḍiyya's father Iltutmish himself was for some time governor of Baran and the neighbourhood, before he became king.[2]

There are quite a few ancient remains in the city of sufficient interest to the historians and antiquarians.[3] Having come across a statement by Dr. A. Führer in his valuable list of the antiquities of the province, that an inscription said to be of the time of Muḥammad bin Sām appeared on the Dargāh of Makhdūm Shāh in the town,[4] I particularly desired Mr. Kādiri to locate and copy the same. But unfortunately, no such epigraph was found on the monument.

Tradition no doubt associates a mosque in the Koṭ-Maḥalla of the town, with the name of Shihābu'd-Dīn Ghorī, as Muḥammad bin Sām is popularly known. And it is on this mosque that

[1] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1913-14, p. 13. Strictly speaking, no inscription of Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Bahrām has been found so far, for the inscription of his reign published by Dr. Yazdānī (*ibid.*, p. 16, pl. IV) does not contain his name. Its date no doubt falls in his reign.

[2] Minhāj-i-Sirāj, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Lahore, 1952), p. 80.

[3] For an account of these remains as well as inscriptions, see A. Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 4-5; H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, vol. V, Bulandshahr (Lucknow, 1922), pp. 203-10; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1962-63, Nos. D, 250-63.

[4] Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

3 DGA/65

the fragmentary tablet containing the incomplete record of Raḏiyya is found.[1] The tablet in its present state measures 1.18 m. by 23 cm. and is built up into the brick-wall of the courtyard of the mosque which also forms the northern wall of the court of an adjacent residential building. The mosque itself, also of brick, has no claim to architectural pretentions of any order and moreover, does not appear to be old. A grave on a platform nearby and two just without, contain undated religious epigraphs which, from their style of writing, seem to have been inscribed in the eighth century A.H.[2]

The surviving text of this epigraph, consisting of a single line, records only part of the titles of the queen and part of the date. It is inscribed against floral background in *Naskh* letters of the prevalent style, which is further distinguished by a refined, delicate and, if one may say so, effeminate touch. Judging from the size of the letters, and the extant tablet, it would appear that the original inscription was of considerable size, necessitated, evidently, by the dimensions of the building for which it was intended.

Strictly speaking, there is no reason to think that the slab is not *in situ* in the sense that it could have been recovered from the older building on the site of which the present mosque was built. But at the same time, it could have belonged to the immediate neighbourhood as well. Anyway, it is not possible, in view of the meagre text before us, to determine the nature of the building constructed, though it is a reasonable guess that it was a mosque. Again, it cannot be ascertained whether Raḏiyya was the builder or her name only appears as the reigning queen. Likewise, the date of the record is lost, except that it was Sunday and second day of the month. It is difficult to arrive at the month and the year, since Sunday, the 2nd, fell twice in every year during the period of Raḏiyya's reign, i.e. from A.H. 634 to A.H. 638.

Thus, the historical information supplied by this unique epigraph is quite meagre and does not add in any way to our present knowledge of her history. And yet, it is an extremely valuable record, if only because it constitutes the sole surviving mural documents of this accomplished daughter of Iltutmish, who has had the distinction of being the only woman to sit on the throne of Delhi.

Before quoting the text and translation of this inscription, it is only necessary that the basis on which the inscription has been assigned to queen Raḏiyya may be described here. For, in the absence of the name and the date, and even of full title, the assignment can be reasonably doubted. But there are two points which should dispel any such doubt: Firstly, the palaeography proclaims the epigraph to be of the early Mamlūk period, i.e. of the first half of the seventh century A.H. or thirteenth century A.D. And secondly—and this should be, I believe, considered quite conclusive—the text has *a's-Sulṭān*, bint *a's-Sulṭān*, which can only mean that the surviving titles '.... dunyā wa'd-Dīn ' preceding it, referred to a lady, which fact is further indicated by the use of the feminine preposition *hā* in the phrase *khalladallāhu mulkahā*. This grammatical usage alone is sufficient to prove beyond any doubt the identification of the reigning sovereign.

The epigraphical tablet has been exposed to elements of nature for centuries, and consequently, the letters thereon have been slightly affected. But the writing is on the whole legible.

I have read the text as follows :—

TEXT

Plate I(*a*)

......[ا]لدنیا و الدین السلطان بنت السلطان خلد الله ملکها فی یوم الاحد الاثنی(؟)

الا...........

[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 250.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 251-253.

MAMLŪK INSCRIPTIONS

(Plates I-IV)

(*a*) Fragmentary inscription of Queen Raḍiyya (p. 2)

Scale : ·15

(*b*) Epigraph of Iltutmi<u>sh</u>, dated A.H. 629, from Bari Khatu (p. 6)

Scale : ·11

TRANSLATION

..................................-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, the sulṭān, daughter of the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate her kingdom, on Sunday, the second (?) of..........................

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that contrary to the usual practice of the use of one set of regal titles, those used for her in the coins are : Jalālatu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn and Raḍiyyatu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn.[1] It is difficult to account for the set of two titles adopted in her coins, quite satisfactorily. Had this inscription survived in full, it would have been possible to know what title was used in her inscriptions and thus throw some light on this problem.

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[1] H. N. Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* (Delhi, 1936), p. 76.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAMLUK SULTANS OF DELHI

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

It was five decades ago that all the then available inscriptions of the Mamlūk rulers of India were published in this series. Since then, one more record, which was subsequently found at Kaman in the erstwhile Bharatpur State and now Bharatpur district of Rajasthan, was published about twentyfive years ago. Though most of these epigraphs were published much earlier by scholars like H. Blochmann, P. Horn and the like, they were properly studied only by Maulvī M. Shu'aib, Dr. J. Horovitz and Dr. G. Yazdānī.[1]

During the next two decades after the last one, from Kaman, was published in 1938, hardly three more Mamlūk inscriptions were brought to light. In the past decade, however, a few more inscriptions belonging to this dynasty were found by the Persian and Arabic Inscriptions Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India. These are from Bari Khatu in Rajasthan and Bulandshahr, Meerut, Budaun and Bilhaur, all in Uttar Pradesh. Of them, the Bulandshahr inscription represents the only and newly discovered, but unfortunately fragmentary, record of queen Raḏiyya, the daughter of Iltutmish, who earned the unique distinction of a lady occupying the throne of Delhi. In view of its unique character, it has been published separately in the present issue (p. 1).

The three inscriptions referred to above as having been published in thirties and forties, are from Aligarh in Uttar Pradesh, Bari Khatu and Budaun. Attention to the Bari Khatu epigraph of the reign of Iltutmish, was first drawn by the late Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd Khān Sherānī of the Oriental College, Lahore, one of the greatest Persian scholars and researchers of the present century.[2] But the credit of publishing its full text goes to Dr. M. 'Abdu'llāh Chaghtāi, then of the Deccan College, Poona, and now of the Panjab University, Lahore, in the papers he read before the 8th Session of the All India Oriental Conference and of the Indian Historical Congress, in 1935 and 1945 respectively.[3]

The second inscription of the reign of Iltutmish, which is fragmentary, was found at Aligarh. It was edited by Dr. A B. Ḥalīm, then of the Aligarh Muslim University, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1949.[4] And the third epigraph, also fragmentary, was found at Budaun, and its one-line surviving text was quoted by M. Raḏīu'd-Dīn of Budaun, in his Urdu history of the city of Budaun.[5] These three epigraphs are also published here along with their facsimiles with necessary comments.

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[1] M. Muḥammad Shua'ib, 'Inscriptions from Palwal', *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1911-12, pp. 1-3; J. Horovitz, 'The Inscriptions of Muḥammad Ibn Sām, Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibeg and Iltutmish', *ibid.*, pp. 12-34; and G. Yazdānī, 'The Inscriptions of the Turk Sulṭāns of Delhi, etc.', *ibid.*,1913-14, pp. 13-46 and 'Inscription of Sulṭān Balban from Bayana, Bharatpur State', *ibid.*, 1937-38, pp. 5-6. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*,vol. XX(Calcutta, 1885),p. 56, noticed an inscription of Iltutmish from the Chaunsath-Khamba mosque at Kaman.

[2] Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd Khān Sherānī, *Prithwirāj Rāso*, in Urdu (Delhi, 1943), p. 178.

[3] M. A. Chaghtāi, 'An Unpublished inscription of the time of Iltutmish, showing the construction of a reservoir at Khatu (Marwar)', *Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference* (*PAIOC*), 8th Session, 1935 (Bangalore, 1937), pp. 632-34 and 'Muslim inscriptions from Khatu (Marwar)', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (*PIHC*), 8th Session, 1945 (Allahabad, 1947), pp. 286-88.

[4] A. B. Ḥalīm, 'Kōl Inscription of Sultan Altamash', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, vol. XV (1949), no. 1, pp. 1-3.

[5] M. Raḏīu'd-Dīn, *Kanzu't-Tārīkh* (Budaun, 1907), p. 71.

Of the remaining six inscriptions which are noticed here, I believe, for the first time, unfortunately only one has survived in full. It is from Meerut, a district headquarters town in Uttar Pradesh and is dated in the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Iltutmi<u>sh</u>. The rest are fragmentary epigraphs, of which two are found at Bari Khatu and one each at Budaun, Bulandshahr and Bilhaur, in Kanpur district of Uttar Pradesh. One of the two Bari Khatu records has proved to be a new record of <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u>u'd-Dīn Balban, dated A.H. 666. This record was also known to Dr. <u>Ch</u>a<u>gh</u>tāi who had displayed its inked rubbing, along with those of others, in the exhibition held under the auspices of the Idāra-i-Ma'ārifi'l-Islāmiyya, Lahore, in 1936.[1] But I do not think he has published its text anywhere.[2]

The other two fragmentary records, one each from Bari Khatu and Budaun, do not contain the name of the reigning monarch, but I have no doubt that they originally formed part of Mamlūk inscriptions. Likewise, in the case of the Bilhaur record, the text, engraved on a stone-beam of a tomb, has disappeared except for the first few honorific titles of the reigning monarch. In the epigraph from Bulandshahr too, nothing more than few titles of the king has survived. On palaeographical grounds, these epigraphs can be assigned only to the Mamlūk period.

These records, particularly those found at Bari Khatu, are historically important, as they indicate the political subjugation of this part of Rajasthan by the Muslims, immediately after the fouudation of their rule in northern India. Then, epigraphs from Uttar Pradesh enable us to rectify the exaggerated, and in some cases utterly wrong, statements made in Dr. A. Führer's *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* and copied without any scrutiny in the *District Gazetteers of United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (now Uttar Pradesh). A few inscriptions at Bulandshahr and Budaun, for example, are stated to date from the time of Maḥmūd of <u>Gh</u>azna or Muḥammad bin Sām, popularly called <u>Sh</u>ihābu'd-Dīn <u>Gh</u>orī, as I shall have occasion to point out at the proper place. Palaeographically too, they are worth notice. They are inscribed in almost the same calligraphical style as marks the contemporary epigraphs from other places in North India.

In this article, I have studied first those inscriptions which contain the name of the reigning king and are thus assignable to him beyond any doubt. Next follow those fragmentary inscriptions in which attempt has been made, where possible, to assign them to the reigns of particular monarchs on the basis of the titles, palaeography, etc.

The first inscription is engraved on a tablet, which is now fixed into the wall of the western verandah in the tomb of Ma<u>gh</u>ribī <u>Sh</u>āh, at Bari Khatu.[3] As has been stated above, Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd <u>Kh</u>ān <u>Sh</u>erānī was the first to draw attention to this epigraph in the thirties.[4] Subsequently, it was published by Dr. <u>Ch</u>a<u>gh</u>tāi, who did not, however, illustrate his study.[5]

Bari Khatu or Khatu Kalan as it is called to distinguish it from Khatu Khurd, a few miles away, is situated in the Jael tahsil of the Nagaur district of Rajasthan. It lies on the Degana-Ratangarh section of the Northern Railway. The place, known for its yellowish hard stone quarries, forms one of the old sites of the district. The ancient structures here comprise the ruined fort wall with the remains of the plinths of five temples, a dilapidated mosque, two tanks and a deep rock-cut well, overlooking the village proper, which contains a number of mosques with

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[1] Vide p. 9, No. 132 of its catalogue published at Lahore in 1936.

[2] One more fragmentary inscription at Bari Khatu, containing only the royal title <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u>u'd-Dīn, is assigned by Dr. <u>Ch</u>a<u>gh</u>tāi to Balban, but its palaeography as well as the style of its text make its assignment to <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u>u'd-Dīn Tu<u>gh</u>luq <u>Sh</u>āh more probable (*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1962-63, p. 36 and No. D, 194).

[3] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 170.

[4] <u>Sh</u>erānī, *op. cit.* The matter of <u>Sh</u>erānī's work was first published in 1937 or so in the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore.

[5] <u>Ch</u>a<u>gh</u>tāi, *PAIOC*, 1935, where an eye-tracing was illustrated.

or without tombs. The most outstanding mosque is the Masjid-i-Aqṣā which stands on the hill and is attributed to Iltutmish, on account of its style of architecture which resembles the Aṛhāi-Din-kā Jhonpṛā mosque at Ajmer. The most celebrated among the tombs are those of the saints Bābā Isḥāq Maghribī, popularly called Maghribī Shāh and Samman Shāh.

The epigraphical tablet does not belong to the tomb of the saint Maghribī Shāh, since the text purports to record the excavation of a tank. It is not possible to say to which of the couple of tanks in the village and the hill-fort, the tablet originally belonged. But that it may not belong to the tank called Mulūk Tālāb is almost certain, for on a platform on its bank is fixed another inscription, also recording the excavation of a tank.[1] It is likely, therefore, that the tablet came from a rectangular stepped-tank with plastered floor situated on the north-western side of the fort.[2]

The tablet, which measures 1 m. by 1.35 m., is inscribed with Arabic text of nine lines, in the prevalent *Naskh* script, which is remarkable for the boldness of its letters. In the first line, a reference is made to the fact that the pond or tank was ordered to be excavated in the reign of the king Shamsu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Iltutmish, whose name and royal as well as honorific titles occupy as many as seven lines of the text. These titles are found, in twos, threes or fours, but not all in one place, in the inscriptions of Iltutmish found on the Quṭb-Minār at Delhi and also elsewhere.[3] It is very likely that these titles as a whole may have also been used in an inscription, found on the enclosure of Mīrān Mulham Shahīd at Budaun.[4] It is difficult to assert this categorically, since the epigraph in question is fragmentary. But from its style as well as from the present state of the epigraph in which the portion of the text to the left is lost, it appears that the sets of titles and the order in which they are used therein might have been the same as those employed in the inscription under study.

The last two lines contain the name of Mas'ūd, son of Aḥmad, son of 'Umar al-Khalj, who gave orders for the excavation of the tank, as stated in the first part of line 1. The record bears the date Ramaḍān 629 (June-July 1232). The text thus purports that the tank was excavated by Mas'ūd and not by Iltutmish, and that the excavation took place in the time of the latter. Therefore, Dr. Chaghtāi's interprétation that the inscription records the construction of a reservoir by Iltutmish and that the construction took place under the supervision of Mas'ūd,[5] is misleading.

The following reading prepared by me differs from that of Dr. Chaghtāi in very few places only ; in particular, he was unable to read the second part of the invocatory phrase occurring in the last line.

TEXT

Plate I(b)

(١) امر ببنا هذا الغدير فى ايام دولت السلطان المعظم مالک رقاب الامم مولے

(٢) ملوک العرب و العجم ظل الله فى العالم الموید من السماء المظفر على الاعدا[ء]

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[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 194.

[2] The information regarding the monuments and tanks of the town was obtained from the inspection-report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda, who visited the place in 1958.

[3] Horovitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 30, 34.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[5] Chaghtāi, *PAIOC*, 1935, pp. 632-34.

(٣) شمس الدنيا و الدين غياث الاسلام و المسلمين اعدل الملوک

(٤) و السلاطين الحامی لبلاد الله الراعی لعباد الله الواثق بنصر الله

(٥) محرز ممالک الدنيا مظهر کلمة الله العليا شهاب سما[ء] الخلافة باسط

(٦) العدل و الرافة ذی الامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملک سليمان

(٧) صاحب الخاتم فی ملک العالم ابو المظفر التمش السلطان ناصر امير المومنين

(٨) خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و اعلی امره و شانه العبد مسعود بن (؟) احمد بن عمر الخلج

(٩) اصلحه الله تعالی شانه و ثقل بقبول هذا الخير ميزانه فی شهر المبارک رمضان سنة

تسع و عشرين و ستماية

TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this tank was ordered during the time of the government of the magnificent Sulṭān, lord of the necks of the nations, chief of

(2) the kings of Arabia and Persia, shadow of Allāh on the earth, helped (by the support) from the above, rendered victorious over the enemies,

(3) Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, refuge of Islām and the Muslims, the most just among the kings

(4) and the sulṭāns, the protector of the cities of Allāh, the reliant on the help of Allāh,

(5) the saviour of the countries of the world, the manifestation of the lofty word of Allāh, the bright star in the firmament of caliphate, the spreader of

(6) justice and kindness, surety of safety for the men of Faith, inheritor of the kingdom of Solomon,

(7) master of the seal in the kingdom of the world, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Iltu[t]mish, the sulṭān, helper of the Commander of the Faithful,

(8) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and elevate his order and glory by the creature Mas'ūd, son of (?) Aḥmad, son of 'Umar al-Khalj,

(9) may Allāh rectify his condition and may the scale (of) his (actions) be heavy on account of this charitable deed! In the auspicious month of Ramaḍān, year (A.H.) twentynine and six hundred (Ramaḍān 629=June-July 1232).

It is not possible to ascertain the identity of Mas'ūd who might have been an official of rank in the region around the findspot of the record. A few noblemen of Iltutmish with the Khalj surname find mention in historical works, but the name of Mas'ūd or even his father appears to be absent there.[1] The mention of this tribal name in the text is also not without interest, though it is rather unfortunate that it does not throw any light on the significance of that term which has not yet been satisfactorily known.

[1] Minhāj-i-Sirāj, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Lahore, 1952), p. 88.

The second inscription of Iltutmish is from Aligarh. It is, as already stated above, fragmentary. Its tablet is lying, or at least it was so until the end of 1961 when I saw it, in the premises of the Maulānā Āzād Library of the Muslim University, Aligarh.[1] It was through the courtesy of Mr. Bashīru'd-Dīn, the learned Librarian, that I got its impressions prepared. It is from these impressions that the inscription is edited here. I am thankful to him as well as to the University authorities for their co-operation.

That the record is neither mentioned in Führer's work nor in the district gazetteer is not surprising from what Dr. Ḥalīm, who was the first to bring it to light in 1948, has to say about its discovery. He came to know of the existence of the inscribed slab in the house of the late Mr. Amīru'd-Dīn of the Maḥalla-Ātashbāzān, one of the most elevated parts in the city of Aligarh. The slab was used as building-material in place of bricks in the verandah of the outer-house by Mr. Amīru'd-Dīn's father, who had purchased heaps of masonry, stone and the like material from the vicinity of the Jāmi' mosque in Bālā Qal'a, in a public auction. It was at the suggestion of Dr. Ḥalīm that the tablet was shifted to the Library by Mr. Amīru'd-Dīn, shortly before his death.[2]

Dr. Ḥalīm has discussed the various aspects of this inscription in some details, but he has overlooked certain points. The style of calligraphy, for example, was not properly or correctly described, nor was the facsimile of the record published, as it should have been, being an essential requirement in epigraphical studies. It will be seen from the accompanying illustration (pl. II a), that the writing is a fine specimen of calligraphical style. The script employed is epigraphical *Naskh* remarkable for its *Riqā'* flourishes. To term it as *Ṭughrā*, typical of the seventh century Hijra found in Egypt and other Middle East countries as Dr. Ḥalīm has done,[3] would not be correct. But before proceeding to examine Dr. Ḥalīm's other remarks on the inscription in details, it will be better to describe its purport and calligraphical peculiarities.

The extant text is inscribed on a slab of yellow stone, in *Naskh*-cum-*Riqā'* characters of a fairly high order. Its language is Persian, which is remarkable in itself, since, as is well-known, all the available inscriptions of Iltutmish are in Arabic. The style of writing too, is somewhat different from that of any inscription of Iltutmish found in northern India. No doubt, it is possible to find some trace of similarity between the styles of this and almost contemporary Bihar Sharif inscription of Ṭughril dated A.H.640,[4] but it will be observed that the curves and flourishes of the letters and their disposition and the ligatures in this inscription, are more akin to a considerable extent, to those of the Bihar inscriptions of Shamsu'd-Dīn Fīrūz of Bengal, dated A.H. 709 and 715.[5] In particular, some of the ligatures in the earlier of these last-mentioned two epigraphs are almost similar to those in our epigraph, as a comparison of the two will show. This style of Bihar inscriptions, of which quite a few delightingly beautiful specimens of the Tughluq period—covering about a full century—exist,[6] is, broadly speaking, so refined and represents such a fully

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[1] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 220. For an account of the history and antiquities, etc., of Aligarh, see A. Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 1-3 and H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, vol. VI, Aligarh (Lucknow, 1926), pp. 161-90, 197-208.

[2] Ḥalīm, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2. The inscription was to be fixed up, according to Dr. Ḥalīm, in the Niẓām Museum, now used as the History Seminar Room, of the University, but stated above, it was still lying in the Library until 1961.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3. As a matter of fact, the epigraphical *Naskh* in vogue in India in the thirteenth century was quite different from that employed at the same time in Syro-Egyptian boundaries. For the view of Professor van Berchem on this point, see *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 46, Appendix C.

[4] *EIM*, 1913-14, pl. V.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1917-18, pls. VI b and XII b.

[6] See, for example, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1894), plate facing page 292; *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*), 1955 & 1956, pl. II; *ibid.*, 1961, pls. VI-X.

developed phase that the emergence of such a mature style in mural records in Bihar, in the first decade of the eighth century Hijra, appears too sudden in the absence of any earlier specimens. It is here that the inscription under study, which, though fragmentary, is definitely of the time of Iltutmish, may be taken to provide a missing link. It would not be wrong to hold that the perfectly beautiful style of the above-quoted records from Bihar, are a more developed form of the calligraphical style of the present epigraph. Incidentally, this style of writing disappears almost as suddenly after the first decade of the nineth century in Bihar, as it had emerged there. The present epigraph is, thus, palaeographically, quite important.

The extant two-line text states that 'an auspicious abode' was constructed in the time of the king of Islām, Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, during the governorship of Khwāja-i-Jahān Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, the counsellor (*dastūr*) of the king and the chief among chiefs of ministers. The title Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn as well as such of the honorific titles as have survived, and the name of the minister by whom evidently the well-known Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Junaidī is meant, leave no room for doubt that the king referred to here is Iltutmish. Unfortunately, the date of the epigraph and the name of the builder are lost.

It will be seen that the text does not specify the nature of the edifice constructed, but merely mentions it as 'an auspicious abode'. Now Dr. Ḥalīm is inclined to connect it, on the basis of circumstantial evidence, with a mosque, stated to be the first cathedral mosque built by the Muslims in the city of Kol, i.e. Aligarh.[1] He may or may not be right therein, but his conclusion that the first Jāmi' mosque to which the inscription appertained, might have been begun by Quṭbu'd-Dīn and finished by Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Junaidī during the reign of Iltutmish,[2] is certainly not supported by the present epigraph. Even the circumstantial evidence quoted by Dr. Ḥalīm, which is mainly confined to a statement of the author of the *Akhbāru'l-Jamāl*, an eighteenth century work on the local history of Aligarh, that the mosque, first built by Aibak, was reconstructed by Muḥammad bin Tughluq, according to an inscription seen by that author, goes against Dr. Ḥalīm's conclusion. Moreover, there is no basis whatsoever even for the assumption that the inscription belonged to a mosque (or for that purpose, any other edifice), which might have been constructed, let alone finished, by Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Kamālu'd-Dīn Junaidī. On the contrary, the surviving text points to some one other than the minister as the builder. As it is, the text refers to the reign of the king and to the governorship or fiefship of the minister, which means, as students of Indo-Muslim epigraphy know, that the text did contain the name of the builder, other than these two dignitaries, which must have occurred in the portion of the text in the second line after the name of the minister. Also, the text indicates that the monument, whatever its nature, was built, from commencement to completion, only in the reign of Iltutmish.

The term *iyālat*, which no doubt, ultimately suggests governorship only, indicates that Kol (Aligarh) and the region around was included in the fief of the minister, a little known fact, brought to light by the present record only. This, it may be pointed out, is indirectly corroborated by a statement in the history of contemporary Minhāj, that it was towards Kol that Niẓāmu'l-Mulk had fled after Iltutmish's son and successor Ruknu'd-Dīn Fīrūz, had advanced his army from the capital to chastise the defiant nobles.[3] It would appear that at least about this time, the fief of Kol was exclusively meant for the minister of the kingdom, since we find that Niẓāmu'l-Mulk's successor in office had also appropriated it on his assumption of power.[4]

While Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Junaidī's identity is quite well-known, it is rather surprising that contemporary historians give very few details of his life. All that Minhāj says, apart from making

[1] Ḥalīm, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Minhāj *op. cit.*, p. 93.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

a passing reference to him in connexion with the defeat of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Qubācha and another two three, to his son, is that he was a minister of Iltutmish, but had trouble with Ruknu'd-Dīn Fīrūz, as referred to above—and also with the latter's sister and successor Raḍiyya Sulṭān, after whose accession to the throne, he was compelled to retreat to the hills of Sirmur, where he died after some time.[1]

The above details contained in a contemporary historical work, are certainly meagre, more so since they relate to a person who held sway as next to king only, for a considerable period. But fortunately, a few more details about him are contained in the encomiums showered upon him by Muḥammad 'Aufī, who, as is well-known to students of literary history, resuscitated his *Jawāmi'-u'l-Ḥikāyāt wa Lawāmi'u'r-Riwāyāt* at his instance and also dedicated it to him later. Unfortunately, this work is yet to be published in entirety, and it is only from the table of its brief contents given in his excellent Introduction to that work by Dr. M. Niẓāmu'd-Dīn,[2] that we can quote a few more details : Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad bin Abī Sa'd al-Junaidī, Qiwāmu'd-Dīn,[3] entitled Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, the master of both the sword and the pen, was praised for his energetic rule and administrative as well as literary talents. He was of Arab descent. He is said to have established true religion by his mighty efforts. 'Aufī also refers to the mild policy adopted by him after the surrender of the fort of Bhakkar and the defeat of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Qubācha.[4]

The epigraphical tablet, in its present state, measures 75 by 43 cm. and the text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate II (a)

(۱) بنا این بقعه مبارک در عهد سلطنت بادشاه اسلام شمس الدنیا و الدین ذوالامان لاهل الایم[ان]..

(۲) در نوبت ایالت خداوند خواجه جهان دستور صاحب قران نظام الملک ملک ملوک الوز[راء]..

TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this auspicious edifice (took place) in the time of the reign of the king of Islām, Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, surety of peace for the men of Faith..

(2) during the time of the fiefship (*iyālat*) of the master, Khwāja-i-Jahān, the minister of the lord of happy conjunction[5] (i.e. the king), (viz.) Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, the chief among the chiefs of ministers..

[1] Minhāj, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 89, 93, 96.

[2] Dr. M. Niẓāmu'd-Dīn of Hyderabad (Dn.), who had quite some time back published his excellent work *Introduction to the Jawāmi'u'l-Ḥikāyāt wa Lawāmi'u'r-Riwāyāt* (London, 1929), is currently engaged on its publication, and it is being seen through the press. Maliku'sh-Shu'ara Bahār had published a much abridged version of the work in 1324 Shamsī, and in recent years, Dr. M. Mo'in of the Tehran University, Iran, has published a few sections from this work, the first of which appeared in 1335 Shamsī.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 89, gives Kamālu'd-Dīn, which may be a copyist's error. Ḥalīm, *op. cit.*, p. 2, follows him.

[4] Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 206, 209, 220, 225, 245, etc. It is possible that some more details can be gathered from 'Aufī's work ; but it is a matter of regret that no manuscript of the *Jawāmi'* was available to me at the time of writing these lines.

[5] The translation 'Lord of the Two Conjunctions' in Ḥalīm, *op. cit.*, p. 2, is evidently through oversight.

(*a*) Fragmentary record of Iltutmi<u>sh</u>, Aligarh (p. 10)

SCALE : ·19

(*b*) Inscription of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, dated A.H. 647, from Meerut (p. 12)

SCALE : ·13

Dr. Ḥalīm is not sure of his reading of the word الوزراء. He confuses the issue by reading [الورى] in the text, and then stating in the foot-note that it 'can be read as [الوزراء] on account of the dot clearly visible after the و of [الورى]'. But he translates the word as 'ministers' only.[1] It will be observed that traces of an *alif* also have survived on the tablet. It may be pointed out in this connexion that these very titles including ملك ملوك الوزراء are also used by 'Aufī.[2]

The third inscription of the present study comes from Meerut, a district headquarters town in Uttar Pradesh, situated in 29°1′ N. and 77°43′ E. The inscribed slab, which measures 1·82 m. by 18 cm., is built up into the inner side of the wall of the courtyard, above the entrance leading into the Jāmi' mosque.[3] According to the local account, quoted by Führer and others, the Jāmi'-Masjid was built by Ḥasan Mahdī,[4] minister of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, in 1019 and was repaired by Humāyūn.[5] Evidently, the local tradition, has, as usual, associated the mosque with a greater antiquity than is actually the case.

It is difficult to say if our epigraph belongs to the present monument. Its position on the monument makes it rather unlikely. Unfortunately, there is nothing in the text to indicate the exact purport since, its one-line text merely refers to the reign of Abu'l-Muẓaffar, Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, the lord of the world and the sulṭān of the universe, and contains the date A.H. 647 (1249-50 A.D.). Mr. A. A. Kādiri, Epigraphical Assistant in our office, who copied this epigraph, informs me that there are only Quranic verses engraved inside the mosque assignable to the sixteenth century, but no historical record was noticed by him. It is therefore, not known on what basis, Dr. Führer has assigned the repairs of the mosque to the time of Humāyūn as stated above. One might be tempted to take the epigraph under study as fragmentary and no doubt, a separate tablet could have contained the first part, if there was any, of the text. But it is equally true that even in its present state, the epigraph could be quite complete, for inscriptions merely referring themselves to the reign of a king and containing a date are not uncommon.

It is really surprising that this epigraph has not been published so far. Neither Dr. Führer nor Mr. Nevill has noticed it, though it is quite likely that the local tradition assigning a much earlier date to the mosque, as seen above, was based on this epigraph, which being presumably illegible, was thought to be of an early period. In the alternative, it may be that the inscriptional tablet was lying unnoticed in some corner of the mosque or was brought in recent years from some other place, before it was built up into its present position. Mr. Kādiri also informs me that the writing was almost hidden under heavy coating of whitewash, and that may also be one of the reasons of its being not so widely known.

In any case, the inscription is an important addition to the Mamlūk records, which as we have already seen above, are not found in good number. As a matter of fact, this is the third, or rather the fourth, record of this monarch.[6] Its text is quite brief, consisting of one line in Persian which is inscribed in usual *Naskh* characters of the period. It will be observed that the language of this record, unlike in the case of other epigraphs of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, is Persian. And, not only

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1 Ḥalīm, *op.* cit.

2 M. Mo'in, *Jawāme ol-Hekāyāt* (Tehran, 1961), p. 115.

3 *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 287. For the history and antiquities of Meerut, see Führer, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12 and Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, Meerut (Allahabad, 1904), pp. 271-81.

4 This is probably a mistake for Maimandī.

5 Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 273; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XVII (Oxford, 1908), p. 265.

6 *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 21-22 (pl. VIII a) and 23 (pl. XI a). The third undated inscription from Hansi, edited by Dr. Horovitz in *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 28 (pl. XIX), is taken by him to have been set up in the reign of Iltutmish.

the text contains very few of such honorific titles and phrases as were, so to say, almost a necessary part of the early Mamlūk inscriptions, but also, the name Maḥmūd is conspicuous by its absence. The titles used for him in his Kol Minaret inscription are same as, but fewer than, those used in the Bari Khatu inscription of his father.[1]

But it would be a mistake to interpret the absence of titles as indicating any doubt about the genuineness of the record, since this feature too is not so unusual in Indo-Moslem inscriptions. Moreover, above everything else, the palaeography of the inscription fully conforms to the style in vogue and undoubtedly bears out the date quoted therein. There is little doubt that it was set up in that year.

The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate II (*b*)

در عهد همایون خدایگان عالم سلطان العالمین ابو المظفر المعظم ناصر الدنیا و الدین
شهور سنة سبع و اربعین و ستمایة

TRANSLATION

In the auspicious reign of the lord of the world, the sulṭān of the universe, Abu'l-Muẓaffar, the magnificent Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, (in) the months of the year (A.H.) forty-seven and six hundred (A. H. 647=1249-50 A.D.).

The fourth inscription of the group and the last one to contain the name of the king is from Bari Khatu, the findspot of the earlier inscription of Iltutmish studied above. Its tablet is at present lying loose in the tomb of Maghribī Shāh,[2] but the original place from where it came is not known. This record is again, unfortunately, fragmentary. It has lost some portion on the right, but it does not appear that much of the text is lost. It can be said with some amount of certainty that only two or three words in each line are missing, for in almost all the records of Balban known so far, only the *kunya* and name, i.e. Abu'l-Muẓaffar Balban, occur between his title and the word sulṭān ;[3] here, too, the second line ends with his title, and the third begins with sulṭān. Therefore, the first two words in line 3 must have been Abu'l-Muẓaffar Balban.

The slab in its present state measures 72 by 55 cm. and is somewhat weather-beaten. As a result, the letters thereon have lost their prominence of relief. The surviving text, consisting of six lines in Arabic, refers to the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn and records the name of Maliku'sh-Sharq, Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Ḥusain Sulṭānī as the builder of some edifice in A.H. 666 (1268 A.D.). The portion of the text in the first line which must have specified the nature of the building constructed by the Maliku'sh-Sharq is missing, and hence it is not possible to determine it beyond doubt. But traces of a couple of letters visible on the stone, seem to be part of the word "العمارة". If so, the epigraph must have belonged to some edifice, probably a mosque. From the catalogue of Dr. Chaghtāi, referred to above, it would appear that the epigraph belonged to a reservoir. He has described it as : Fragment (Reservoir) Balban Ghiāth-ud-Dīn Ulugh khān.[4] But the statement is too vague to indicate for certain that the tablet was found by him on a tank. In any case, the traces of the word *al-'imārat* leave no doubt that the epigraph belonged to some edifice and not a tank.

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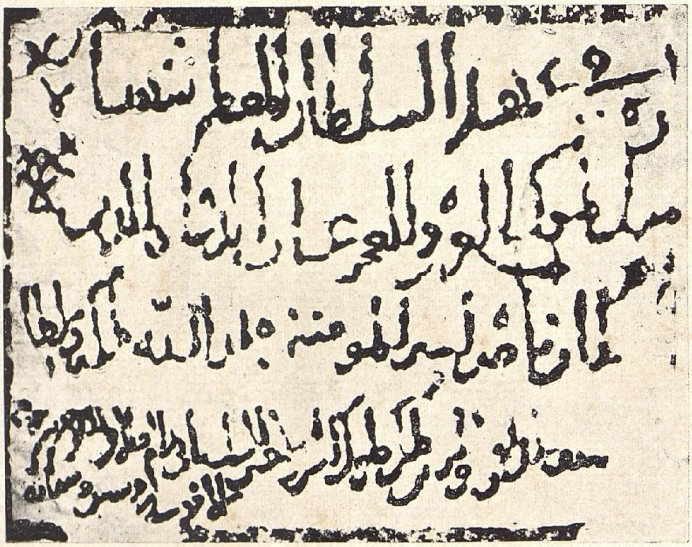
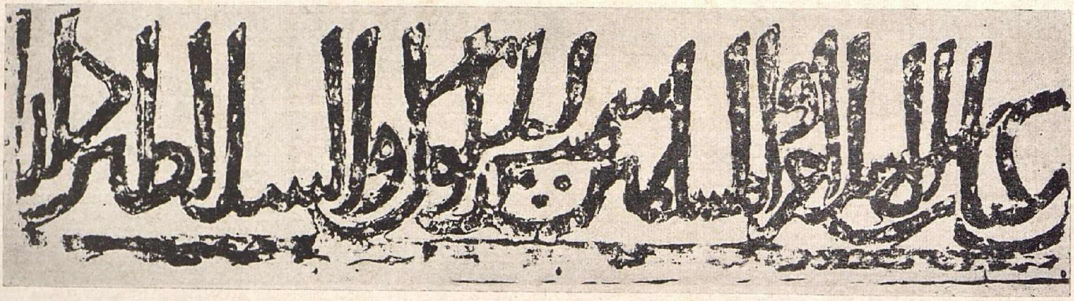
[1] *EIM*, 1913-14 p. 23.
[2] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 171.
[3] *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 27, 29, 30, 32. Only in one inscription (*ibid*., p. 28), one more phrase occurs.
[4] Vide Catalogue, *loc. cit.*, p. 9, No. 132.

(*a*) Record, dated A.H. 666, of Balban, from Bari Khatu (p. 13)



SCALE : ·125

(*b*) Fragmentary epigraph, from Bulandshahr (p. 16)



SCALE : ·125

(*c*) Another fragmentary record, from Bilhaur (p. 17)

SCALE : ·13

I have not been able to establish the identity of the builder, Maliku'sh-Sharq Ḥusain Sulṭānī. None of the noblemen mentioned by Minhāj with the title Saifu'd-Dīn, seems to be identical with him. The name Ḥusain is found along with his titles in one place,[1] but it would appear to be an interpolation, for in the corresponding passage of Major Raverty's English translation, the name is absent.[2] Moreover, he had died much earlier than the time of our epigraph.

That Maliku'sh-Sharq Ḥusain was an official of rank, is clear from the titles used for him. It is quite likely that he was the governor of the locality in the reign of Balban.

The inscription, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is published here for the first time. Dr. Chaghtāi seems to have procured its impression as stated above, but not published it in any of his two papers on the inscriptions of Bari Khatu or elsewhere.

My reading of the text is as under :—

TEXT

Plate III(a)

(۱) ......[العما]رة فی عہد السلطان المعظم شهنشاه

(۲) ......ملک ملوک العرب و العجم غیاث الدنیا و الدین

(۳) ......[السل]طان ناصر امیر المومنین خلد الله ملکه و سلطان[ه]

(۴) ......سیف الدولة و الدین ملک ملوک الشرق حسین السلطانی دام اقباله فی
الحادی عشر من(؟) جماد

(۵) الاخر سنة ست و ستین و ستمایة

TRANSLATION

(1)................building in the reign of the magnificent sulṭān, emperor

(2) ....the king of the kings of Arabia and Persia, Ghiyāthu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn

(3) ....the sulṭān, helper of the Commander of the Faithful, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,

(4) ....Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn (lit. sword of the state and religion),

(5) Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq Ḥusain a's-Sulṭānī, may his good fortune last for ever, on the eleventh of the month of Jumāda'l-Ākhar, year (A.H.) six and sixty and six hundred (11 Jumādā II, 666=27 February 1268).

It may be pointed out that in none of the available inscriptions of Balban, the honorific title ملک ملوک العرب و العجم is used.

The next five inscriptions are fragmentary and damaged. The name of the ruling king is missing in each of them, and in one, the surviving text only contains the name of a person, who may perhaps have been the builder. But as has been explained above, from the style of these inscriptions, particularly such royal titles as have survived and palaeography, they are assignable to the Mamlūk Sulṭāns.

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[1] Minhāj, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

[2] Raverty, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (London, 1881), p. 730.

The first such record and the fifth of the article is from Budaun, headquarters of the district of the same name in Uttar Pradesh.[1] It is inscribed on the headstone of a grave in the courtyard of the mosque of Makhdūm 'Ālam in the Nāgarūn-Maḥalla of the town.[2] The tablet measuring 95 by 52 cm. is inscribed with a four-line text in Arabic, most of which has been obliterated due to the weathering of the stone, consequent upon its constant exposure to the elements of nature. The letters in the first and the last lines have completely flaked off, and in the second and the third lines too, a considerable portion is lost.

However, it is possible to assign this record with a certain amount of certainty to Iltutmish. From the style of writing, the record can be assigned, without any fear of contradiction, to the Mamlūk period. In addition to this, the titles used for the reigning king, would heavily weigh against a post-Mamlūk date for the epigraph. Now, all the surviving titles in the text of this epigraph, viz. inheritor of the kingdom of Solomon, lord of security for men of Faith, right hand of the vicegerent of Allāh, helped by the support from the above, rendered victorious over the enemies, are those found in the records of Iltutmish. On the other hand, the only other Mamlūk king for whom an epigraph uses the honorific title 'inheritor of the kingdom of Solomon' is Nāṣiru'd Dīn Maḥmūd. Thus, the upward limit of the date of the record under study can be brought down, at the most, to the time of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn.

But then it is only in one of the three records of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd that this title is used.[3] No other title from the present list is used for him in any of these. Added to this is the fact that the title 'right hand (*yamīn*) of the vicegerent of Allāh' is used for Iltutmish in the Gangarampur inscription of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, dated A.H. 647 (1249 A.D.).[4] We have also to bear in mind the close association of Iltutmish with Budaun, of which he was governor immediately before he ascended the throne, and where at least two inscriptions of his are found even today.[5] All this tends to show that the person for whom these titles are used in the epigraph can be none other than Iltutmish.

Despite the badly damaged nature of the record, it has been possible to decipher almost the whole writing as it exists on the stone. The date portion and the king's name, *kunya* and regal titles are lost. The extant text, apart from the honorific titles quoted above, seems to record the construction of a well. It is a matter of regret that only the name of the person who constructed the well has defied decipherment. His father's name Maḥmūd is legible.

I have deciphered the text as under :—

TEXT

Plate IV(b)

(۱) ....

(۲) ...... السلاطین وارث ملکک سلیمان ذی الامان الاهل[6] الایمان یمین خلیفة ا[لله ؟]

الموید من السما[ء] المظفر ع[لی الاعداء]..

[1] For an account of the town of Budaun and its monuments and inscriptions, see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XI (Calcutta 1871) pp, 9-11 ; Führer, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-23 ; Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol. XV, Budaun (Allahabad, 1907), pp. 183-91 ; Raḍīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*; *ARIE*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 221-50 ; *EIAPS*, 1964, pp. 7-8, 19 and *ibid.* , 1965, pp. 11-18.

[2] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 239. This appears to be the tomb of Ālham Shahīd of Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 22, where the inscription is stated to be in Kūfī, of the time of Iltutmish. See also Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[3] *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 23.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1911-12, pp. 22, 34.

[6] Engraver's mistake for لاهل.

(*a*) Incomplete record, from Bari Khatu (p. 17)

SCALE : ·21

(*b*) Another incomplete epigraph, from Budaun (p. 14)

SCALE : ·15

(*c*) Another fragmentary record, same place (p. 18)

SCALE : ·19

(٣) ...... و بناء هذا البئر العبد الضعيف الراجى الخايف ...... بن محمود ....

....

(٤) ....

....

TRANSLATION

(1) ....

(2) ....of the sulṭāns, inheritor of the kingdom of Solomon, surety of protection for the men of Faith, right hand of the vicegerent of Allāh, helped (by support) from above, rendered victorious over the enemies..............................

(3) ....
And this well was constructed by the weak creature, hopeful (of Allāh's mercy) and fearful (of His wrath),...................., son of Maḥmūd..............................

(4) ....

The second fragmentary inscription and the sixth of the article is from Bulandshahr, also a district headquarters in Uttar Pradesh. The present name of the town was given to Baran in modern times. It has the distinction of containing the unique, though fragmentary, record of Queen Raḏiyya, daughter of Iltutmish, as has been referred to above.

The broken tablet bearing this incomplete record measures 1.45 m. by 33 cm. and is fixed into the *miḥrāb*, situated to the north of the pulpit, of the 'Īdgāh of the town.[1] The present building of the 'Īdgāh is not old, but it is apparently constructed from the *debris* of an ancient mosque, for there are in the walls several inscribed slabs.[2] If the one, fixed into the central *miḥrāb* is *in situ*, the 'Īdgāh would date from the time of Humāyūn only.[3]

The text comprises only one line inscribed in *Naskh* characters of the usual type, which are remarkable for their boldness. The size of the letters can be judged from the fact that practically the whole of the surface is taken up by the single-line writing. The surviving text, which appears to be in Arabic, merely contains a set of titles of the king, to wit, 'the refuge of Islām and Muslims, sun (Shams) among the kings and chiefs'. Other details are lost.[4]

The style of writing of this epigraph conforms to the early records of the Mamlūk period. It will also be observed that there are three dots beneath the letter *s* of *Shams*. This peculiarity is also found in the early epigraphs—in the inscription of the Quwwatu'l-Islām mosque recording

[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 262. For an account of the history of Bulandshahr and its architectural remains and inscriptions, see Führer, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5 ; Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Bulandshahr (Lucknow, 1922), pp. 203-10 *ARIE*, 1962-63, Nos. 250-63.

[2] Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 5, states that these are in *Kūfī* characters, but here as elsewhere, *Kūfī* is a mistake for *Naskh*. These fragments, which constitute not less than three records of the Ghorī or early Mamlūk period, were copied too late to be incorporated here ; regal titles occur in seven of them (*ARIE*), 1965-66, Nos, D, 570-71, 577, 579, 581, 583, 585.

[3] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 263.

[4] See note to above.

the conquest of Delhi and the foundation of the said mosque, as well as in Iltutmish's own inscriptions on the Quṭb-Minār and elsewhere.[1] The title, refuge of Islām and Muslims, is found in his inscriptions on the Quṭb-Minār. The other title, *Shamsu'l-Mulūk wa's-Salāṭīn* (literally, the sun among the kings and sulṭāns), also points to the fact that Iltutmish is the object of this praise, though, it must be admitted, this title is not found in any of his extant inscriptions. Taking all these factors into consideration, one would not be wrong to assign this epigraph to the early part of Iltutmish's reign, if not still earlier. It may be recalled that Baran (i.e. Bulandshahr) was conquered by Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibak, and Iltutmish himself was the governor of the place for some time.[2]

The epigraph has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate III(b)

...... غياث الاسلام و المسلمين شمس الملوک و السلاطين دارا ......

TRANSLATION

........the refuge of Islām and the Muslims, the sun (Shams) among the kings and sulṭāns
....

The third imcomplete record, forming the seventh inscription of this article, is from Bari Khatu. It is engraved on a fragmentary piece of arch-slab which was found lying loose, by Mr. W. H. Ṣiddiqī, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in our office, in the courtyard of the mosque in the Qasāi-Maḥalla of the village.[3]

As in the case of the other fragmentary records studied above, this one also contains merely parts of the titles of the king, other details having been completely lost. The calligraphical style, which is pretty *Naskh*, conforms to the type of the epigraphs of the early thirteenth century. The surviving titles, which are preceded by a reference to the reign of the king, are : the magnificent sulṭān, the king of the land and sea, the emperor. The main title occurs simultaneously not only in one of the epigraphs of Iltutmish,[4] but also in the earlier Quṭb-Minār record of Muḥammad bin Sām.[5] In view of these facts, it is fairly certain that this inscription was put up in the reign of Iltutmish if not in the reign of Muḥammad bin Sām. However, on the grounds of palaeography, it can be more appropriately assigned to the time of Iltutmish.

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[1] *EIM*, 1911-12, pls. XI ; VI, No. 1 ; XVIII, No. 2 ; XXVIII ; etc.

[2] Minhāj, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

A *farmān* of Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām is said to have been in the possession, at least some time ago, of Mr. Ḥasan Baranī, advocate of Bulandshahr, according to Dr. A. B. M. Ḥabību'llāh, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* (Allahabad, 1961), p. 367, Appendix A. The latter who received a brief descriptive note from Mr. Baranī in 1944, has rightly remarked that its genuineness cannot be asserted beyond dispute, until it can be examined in detail.

[3] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 201.

[4] *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 30, pl. XXIII, where it is the amīr of the land and the sea.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17, pl. III, where it is 'sulṭān of the land and the sea'.

The writing occupies a space of about 75 by 18 cm. on the stone and has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate IV(a)

........دولة السلطان المعظم ملک البر و البحر شهنشاه ....

TRANSLATION

....the reign of the magnificent sulṭān, the king of land and sea, emperor..............

The fourth incomplete epigraph and the eighth of this group was also recently found by Mr. Ṣiddīqī, at Bilhaur, a *tahsil* town, situated in 26°50′ N. and 80°4′ E. at a distance of about 55 kilometres north-west of the district headquarters Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh. It is inscribed on the inner side of a stone beam in the tomb locally called Ḥaẕīra, which stands on the right side of the Grand Trunk Road, outside the town.[1]

The writing that has survived comprises hardly a few phrases referring to an 'auspicious abode' and to 'the just and magnificent king'. The stone-beam appears to be an original part of the tomb, in which case, the term 'auspicious abode'—*al-buq'atu'l-mubārakata* in the original—would signify a tomb. Also, it would indicate that Bilhaur, lying as it is on the main road to the east, is a place of sufficient antiquity.[2] Incidentally, the only monument at Bilhaur, recorded by Führer, is a mosque of Aurangzeb's time.[3] From the text of our epigraph, which is easily assignable to the Mamlūk period, on palaeographical grounds, it is clear that the present tomb or at least some building of note was constructed by one of the Mamlūk sulṭāns himself, which would mean that Bilhaur was quite an important place in those days. It is a pity that the remaining part of the record is lost.

The text occupies a writing space of 1.38 m. by 31 cm. on the stone-beam and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate III(c)

.........هذه البقعة المبارکة السلطان المعظم الع[ادل] ....

TRANSLATION

....this auspicious abode by the magnificent and just sulṭān...........................

The ninth and the last inscription of this study and the fifth fragmentary one, is engraved on a loose slab lying in the mosque of the tomb of Jangī Shahīd situated in the Chāh-Mīr Maḥalla of Budaun.[4] The tablet, which evidently formed part of a bigger one, measures 82 by 18 cm. and contains a one-line text, evidently in Arabic, recording the name of Abū Naṣr Maḥmūd, son of 'Umar Dahistānī, preceded by the term *al-'abd*, thus indicating him to be the builder of some

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[1] *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 367.

[2] An inscription engraved in Siddhamatrica on a pillar in the tomb is assignable on palaeographical grounds to the 9th century (*ibid.*, No. B, 655).

[3] Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 168. For the inscription on this mosque as well as another one, see *ARIE*, 1964-65, Nos. D, 368-69.

[4] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 234; Raḍiu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

construction, if the epigraph related to any, or at least the person responsible for some such action. On the basis of the calligraphical style, the record may be assigned to the time of Iltutmish. M. Raḏīu'd-Dīn, who published a reading of this inscription, was inclined, on account of the style of its letters, to assign it to the time of Maḥmūd of Ghazna or thereabouts. He also could not determine the building or tomb to which it might have originally belonged.[1]

The text is executed in bold *Naskh* of the prevalent type and has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IV(c)

.........[ا]لعبد ابو نصر بن محمود بن عمر دهستانی اطال ال[له].........

TRANSLATION

......the creature, Abū Naṣr, son of Maḥmūd, son of 'Umar Dahistānī, may Allāh prolong..
....

It is difficult to establish the identity of Abū Naṣr. The size and style of the epigraph would indicate, if at all, that he was a person of some position in the town.

[1] Raḏīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.* His reading is correct except in two places.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GHIYATHUD-DIN TUGHLUQ FROM UTTAR PRADESH

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

I propose to re-edit in this short article two inscriptions of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, from Zafarabad and Mahoba, situated respectively in the Jaunpur and Hamirpur districts of Uttar Pradesh, which were published quite some time back.[1] Apart from the fact that these two epigraphs are among the very few records of Tughluq Shāh that have been found so far in that province,[2] they are extremely important as they mention three noblemen of great status. But since the portions containing their names were left unread in the published texts of these records, the noblemen remained unidentified, and the importance of the epigraphs was overlooked. But what constitutes even a more important feature of these records is that with their help, the correct spelling of the names of two of these nobles, transcribed variously in historical works, can now be determined once for all. It may be recalled here that the correct spelling of the name of yet one more high official of the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, viz. Malik Juljīn, was also determined by an inscription.[3]

The earlier of these two records is from the Dargāh of Makhdūm Shāh at Zafarabad near Jaunpur.[4] The epigraphical tablet, which measures 1.66 m. by 83 cm., is fixed above the entrance of the enclosure and contains a text of ten verses in Persian, which are engraved in relief in five lines in bold *Naskh* letters, characteristic of the inscriptions of the early Tughluq period. The weathering of the tablet has slightly affected the condition of its letters, but except in one place, in the fourth line, to be exact, where the letters have been mutilated, intentionally as it were, the text is fairly legible.

A detailed description of this epigraph including its text and translation was first given by A. Führer, but unfortunately, the reading supplied to, and quoted by, him is hopelessly corrupt and incomplete too. An almost bewildering aspect of his account is that he has assigned the inscription to the regin of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq. To quote him, the epigraph 'is written in ten lines, mostly in Arabic and partly in Tughrā and Shafīya characters over the entrance door of the mazār or dargāh of Makhdūm Sāhib Chirāgh-ī-Hind, built by Zafar Khān in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh A. H. 781, or A.D. 1379......the last two lines are partly illegible, being very much defaced'.[5]

Subsequently, the inscription was republished by Major Vost, whose reading, though a great improvement upon Führer's, still suffers from mistakes.[6] More than his inability to decipher

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[1] Major W. Vost, 'Jaunpur and Zafarabad Inscriptions', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* vol. V (1905), pp. 140-41; H. Blochman, 'Mahoba Inscriptions', *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1873, p. 156.

[2] The only other record of this king published so far, is from Asarva Khurd in Allahabad district (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1937-38, p. 7, pl. IIIb).

[3] *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*), 1955 and 1956, p. 110.

[4] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1963-64, No. D. 364. For an account of Zafarabad and its remains, see A. Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (*MANWP*) (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 185-86; H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (*UPG*), vol. XXVIII, Jaunpur (Allahabad, 1908), pp. 329-34; Iqbāl Aḥmad, *Tārīkh-i-Shīrāz-i-Hind Jaunpūr* (Jaunpur, 1963), pp. 897-937, 1003-28, etc.

[5] Führer, *The Sharqī Architecture of Jaunpur* (*SAJ*) (Calcutta, 1889), pp. 64-66.

[6] It is probably Vost's reading which has been copied in Iqbāl Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 1012-13.

the name of the builder, Malik Mal, it was perhaps his wrong reading مظفر شد in place of ز قلعه in the fifth line, which prompted him to hazard a guess that it was likely that the eighth verse[1] contained the name of Malik Ẕafar, the third son of Tughluq Shāh.[2] He was also not able to decipher the portion of the text in the fourth line indicating the object of construction, viz. a fort.

In the opinion of Mr. H. R. Nevill, who wrote after Vost, the inscription records that 'on account of political victory gained in 1319 (721 H.) by Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq, the town was to be populated and called Zafarabad'.[3] A glance at the reading quoted below will show how faulty are the readings of Führer and Vost, on which some of their statements as well as those of Nevill are based.

The epigraph states that in the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Tughluq Shāh, a fort with a lofty gate was constructed through the efforts of Malik Mal. It further states that since the city prospered on account of the fort, its name Ẕafarābād would remain for ever. It bears the date Monday, 28th Rabī' I 721 (27th April 1321).

The text has been deciphered by me as follows :—

TEXT

Plate V (a)

(۱) بعهد ملکک ذو القرنین ثانے　　　بناء شرع را از عدل بانے

غیاث دین و دنیا بو المظفر　　　سلیمان خاتم و جمشید افسر

(۲) شه افاق تغلقشاه اعظم　　　کے بر وی شد جهانگیری مسلم

بر آمد این حصار چرخ ایوان　　　کے در رفعت گذشت از فرق کیوان

(۳) دو شنبه بست هشتم روز بوده　　　ربیع الاول آن ماه ستوده

همایون ساعتے و موق[عه] مسعود　　　ز هجرت سال هفصد بست یکک بود

(۴) شد این دروازهٔ گردون ستانه　　　بنا از سعی مشهور زمانه

ملکک مل بنده وا.....................ه　　　..............................درگاه

(۵) ز قلعه چون بشد معمور این شهر　　　ظفر آباد نامش ماند در دهر

ز چشم بد نگه دارش خدا باد　　　کے تا نامش بود شه را بقا باد

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the king, the second Dhu'l-Qarnain (i.e. Alexander), layer of the foundation of *shar'* (i.e. religious code) through justice,

Ghiyāth-i-Dīn-u-Dunyā Bu'l-Muẓaffar, one with Soloman's signet and Jamshīd's crown,

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[1] The letters in this portion of the fourth line are mutilated.

[2] Vost, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[3] Nevill, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-34.

TUGHLUQ'S INSCRIPTIONS

(*a*) Inscription, dated A.H. 721, from Zafarabad (p. 20)

SCALE : ·08

(*b*) Epigraph, dated A.H. 722, from Mahoba (p. 24)

SCALE : ·11

(2) king of the horizons, the great Tughluq Shāh, on whom sovereignty has been bestowed,

was constructed this fort whose portico is sky (and) which, in height, has exceeded the height (lit. forehead) of Saturn.

(3) It was Monday and twentyeighth day (of) Rabīʻu'l-Awwal, the praiseworthy month,

at a blessed hour and auspicious time; from Migration it was (year) seven hundred and twentyone (28 Rabīʻ I 721=27 April 1321),

(4) (when) this gate of sky-like threshold was constructed through the efforts of the world famous

Malik Mal, servant and..the court.

(5) Since this city prospered on account of (the construction of) the fort, its name remained in the world as Ẓafarābād.

May God be its protector from Evil Eye! And may the king endure as long as its name remains!

Though Malik Mal, the builder, was an important official under the Khaljīs and the Tughluqs, unfortunately, not much is known about him. Even the spelling of his name is a matter of difference among the historians, early as well as modern. His name is variously written as مل ، مخ ، بل ، يل and گل. For example, the printed text of contemporary Baranī's work has ملک اختيار الدين مل افغان on pages 240-41 and مل on page 448, but يل on page 379 and مخ on pages 449 and 454.[1] In the printed edition of the versified history of another contemporary ʻIṣāmī, the name occurs as بل on page 384, but مل on page 387.[2] Among the later historical works, the printed texts of Yaḥyā Sirhindī and Ḥājjī Dabīr have مل, while that of Firishta has گل.[3]

This fact of confusing spellings has been duly noted among others, by Dr. S. A. A. Riḍawī and Dr. A. Mahdī Ḥusain who have, however, refrained, and understandably too, from any attempt to determine its correct form. The former uses the variants مل, مل (مخ) and بل,[4] while the latter has مل and مل or مخ.[5] Our epigraph which clearly transcribes the name as مل should thus settle the problem of the correct nomenclature once for all.

As stated above, not much is known about Malik Mal from historical works. Baranī includes him in the list of the nobles of both ʻAlāu'd-Dīn Khaljī and his son Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak. A noble of senior rank, he was involved, along with Malik Timur, Talbagha and others in the incident of Khusraw Khān's intended rebellion in A.H. 720. His name also occurs in a similar affair concerning Ulugh Khān, later on Muḥammad bin Tughluq, in the course of the latter's Telangana expedition in A.H. 721,[6] but this ultimate fate is not reported by the contemporary historians describing the event. For example, Baranī simply says that Malik Kāfūr Muhrdār, the poet ʻUbaid

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[1] Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1864). The omission of his name from ملک افغان in *ibid.*, p. 399, appears to be a printing mistake.

[2] Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Agra, 1938); *ibid.* (Madras, 1948), pp. 392, 396.

[3] Yaḥyā Sirhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), p. 85; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *Ẓafaru'l-Wālih bi-Muẓaffar wa-Ālih*, vol. III (London, 1928), pp. 861, 862; Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* (Kanpur, 1884), pp. 142, 275.

[4] S. A. A. Riaḍwī, *Tughluq-kālīn Bhārat*, vol. I (Aligarh, 1956), p. 21, f.n. 7; A. Mahdī Ḥusain, *Tughluq Dynasty* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 65, f.n. 3.

[5] Mahdī Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 66.

[6] Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 249, 379, 399, 448, 449. It may be pointed out that he is not mentioned in ʻIṣāmī's account of the earlier incident (*op. cit.*, pp. 355-64).

and other seditious persons were put to death. This may, if one is so inclined, be interpreted to mean that Malik Mal was also executed, though Baranī does not explicitly name him as one to receive the penalty of death.

But there is clear evidence that Mal had survived this affair. For, another contemporary writer Ibn Baṭṭūṭa refers to Malik Mal, and there is little reason to doubt the identity of Malik Mal of Ibn Baṭṭūta with Malik Mal of our epigraph. Now Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has narrated the episode of the painful death that overtook Malik Mal while he was confined in one of the dungeons of the Daulatabad fort.[1] It may also be mentioned that it was Malik Mal's son, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, and younger brother, according to Baranī and others, who successfully rebelled against Muḥammad bin Tughluq and ascended the throne at Daulatabad under the title Nāṣiru'd-Dīn.[2] While neither Ibn Baṭṭūṭa nor Baranī calls Nāṣiru'd-Dīn by his first name, 'Iṣāmī and subsequent writes speak of him as Ismā'īl or Ismā'īl Makh.[3] Now, as we have seen above, the transcription of the name Makh may be a copyist's error for Mal, which is the actual case in some places, and there may be an *iḍāfat-i-ibnī* between Ismā'īl and Makh (*recte*, Mal), which would bear out Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that the relationship of son and father existed between Sulṭān Nāṣiru'd-Dīn and Malik Mal. On the other hand, Firishta also states that Malik Mal (in the printed text Gul), an eminent nobleman of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, who was then stationed in Malwa, was in a position to give immediate help to his younger brother Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-Dīn who had rebelled at Daulatabad.[4] Firishta seems to follow Baranī who, as we have already seen above, also calls Malik Mal an elder brother of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn. Thus according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the former was the father, and according to Baranī and Firishta, elder brother, of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn. I am inclined to credit Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's statement with correctness. It is very likely that another son of Mal was concerned in the event. The mistake may have occurred on account of the omission, through the copyist's error or so, of the name of this son before Malik Mal in the original manuscript of Baranī's history which seems to have been the main original source for the history of the period for subsequent writers including Firishta. This seems to be the only reasonable explanation for this confusion in relationship. There is no reason to doubt Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's statement in this regard which is not only clear but informative. In short, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's statement that Nāṣiru'd-Dīn was a son of Malik Mal seems to be nearer the truth.

Apart from this, no other particulars about Malik Mal himself are avilable from historical works. The epigraph under study provides the valuable information that the Malik was posted at Zafarabad during the time of Tughluq Shāh, if not earlier, at least, in Rabī' I 721. But the question again arises: In what capacity was he associated with Zafarabad? Though not so specified, from the context, he appears to have been a man of authority in the place. Again, the text clearly testifies that the town was called Zafarabad after it was provided with a fort by him. On the other hand, Baranī and others aver that Tughluq Shāh gave charge of Zafarabad to his adopted son Tatār Khān, immediately after his accession,[5] that is to say, some time during the latter part of the year A.H. 720. But our epigraph clearly indicates Malik Mal's association with

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[1] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Rehla*, ed. A. Mahdī Ḥusain (Baroda, 1953), p. 170. It is interesting to note that Ibn Baṭṭūṭā, is the only authority to mention this episode.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 115, 170; Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 454, 514; 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 493, 494, 496, 497, 505, 506, 507, 509, 513, 523, 524, 538 and 539 (but he does not mention any relationship); 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* (Hyderabad, 1936), pp. 13, 14, 18; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 882 (quoting Ḥusām Khān's *Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī*): Firishta, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 275; etc. This relationskip between the two is not so widely known.

[3] In the printed texts of their works, this name too variously written as Makh, Fath, Manj, etc.

[4] Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

[5] Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

Zafarabad in official capacity as late as in Rabī' I 721. This again poses a problem. Is it likely that Tatār Khān being a minor (*khurd-sāl*) during the reign of Tughluq Shāh,[1] Mal acted as his deputy? In the alternative, Baranī may have just advanced Tatār Khān's appointment to the governorship of Zafarabad by a few months. In that case, Tatār Khān's appointment might have taken place some time in A.H. 721, during which Mal was either put to death or imprisoned,[2] but not before Rabī' I of that year, the date of our record. Sir Wolseley Haig also places Tatār Khān's appointment in the year following Tughluq's accession, but he does not quote his authority.[3] Thus, it is likely that Tatār Khān came to Zafarabad after Mal's tenure of office there.

There is yet one more possibility which may be considered: Our epigraph does not specifically mention Malik Mal as the governor, which may be taken to mean that he had acted on behalf of somebody. That somebody could have been prince Ẓafar Khān who, as we known from a contemporary inscription, was granted Zafarabad by his father Tughluq Shāh. According to this epigraph occuring on the door of the tomb within a bastion at the north-east corner of Tughluqabad at Delhi, Khān-i-A'ẓam Ẓafar Khān, then a mere child, who was given Zafarabad, seized the country as far as the boundary of Lakhnauti and was going to subdue that region, but died an untimely death consequent upon which his tomb was constructed by Tughluq Shāh.[4] This Ẓafar Khān is evidently the third son of Taghluq Shāh.[5] Under the circumstances, it is reasonable to suppose that if he was granted Zafarabad by Tughluq Shāh on his accession, Malik Mal may have acted as his deputy. The naming of the newly fortified town as Zafarabad is easily explained by this. This may also lend weight to the surmise that Ẓafar Khān was succeeded by Tatār Khān in the appointment of Zafarabad on his death.

In any case, the epigraph discloses the fact, not mentioned elsewhere, of Malik Mal's association with Zafarabad. Another important aspect of the inscription is that it furnishes authentic information, though meagre, on the histroy of the Zafarabad town. Dr. Führer, as we have seen above, attributes the designation of the town to Fīrūz Tughluq's son Ẓafar Khān,[6] while according to Major Vost, the change of the name of the village Menaich to Zafarabad took place to commemorate the name and history of Tughluq Shāh's third son, Ẓafar Khān, who is stated by him, on the authority of the *Manāqib-i-Darwīshiyya*, to have conquered the place.[7]

But as we have seen above, our record clearly states that since the town prospered on account of the newly constructed fort, its name became Zafarabad (Lit. abode of victory). No doubt the possibility is there that Malik Mal, through whose efforts the fort was constructed, resulting in the renaming of the town, may have intended it to be called after Ẓafar Khān. Incidentally, the mention of the name Zafarabad in our epigraph may be construed to indicate that Ẓafar Khān must have died after Rabī' I 721, or in the alternative, his above epitaph was engraved after that date.

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1 This piece of information, given by Shams Sirāj 'Afīf in his *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1891), p. 389, has not been taken notice of by any one so far as I know.

2 Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 449; 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-90; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

3 Sir Wolseley Haig, ed. *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (New York, 1928), p. 133.

4 *List of Muḥammadan and Hindu Monuments*, vol. IV (Calcutta, 1922), p. 4; *ARIE*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 54, 55. The epigraph which is partly damaged is undated, but there is no doubt about its contemporaneity.

5 No contemporary or non-contemporary work makes mention of prince Ẓafar Khān except in the account of the honours and titles conferred on his kinsmen and nobles by Tughluq Shāh. There does not appear to be any basis for Sir Wolseley's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 133) that Tatār Khān was entitled Zafar Khān.

6 Führer, *SAJ.* J. P. Hewett, *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India*, vol. XIV, part III—Jaunpur (Allahabad, 1884), p. 146, calls him Fīrūz Tughluq's governor.

7 Vost, *op. cit.* For other popular versions about Zafarabad and its history, see Iqbāl Aḥmad, *op. cit.*

The second inscription to be re-edited is from the *tahsil*-headquarters Mahoba in the Hamirpur district.[1] Engraved on a tablet measuring 1.7 m. by 50 cm. which is fixed above the eastern doorway of the Sh̲āhī mosque, situated outside the Bhainsā-Darwāza of the fort,[2] its text runs into ten couplets of Persian verse, which are inscribed in five lines in *Nask̲h̲* characters of a fairly good type. The quality of verses is also quite good.

The inscription was first published by H̱ Blochmann from the rubbings sent to him by Major-General A. Cunningham.[3] Blochmann's reading is fairly correct, but it does suffer from quite a few errors of which two are of no mean consequence : he has omitted to read the name of the father of the governor during whose time the mosque was constructed, and that was why he could not identify him. And secondly, he could not decipher the day of the month.

The record states that the construction of the mosque in Mahoba took place in A.H. 722 (1322 A.D.) during the reign of G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲u'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Tug̲h̲luq Sh̲āh and in the time of Malik Tāju'd-Duwal Aḥmad. It further supplies the interesting information that Tāju'd-Duwal Aḥmad was a worthy son of Talbag̲h̲a. It may be noted that the name of Aḥmad's father Talbag̲h̲a, himself a renowned nobleman under the K̲h̲aljīs, is spelt in the text as تلبغه.[4]

The text has been read by me as follows :—

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(۱) بفضل ایزدی آمد بشارت   که مسجد در مهوبه شد عمارت

بعهد بادشاه هفت اقلیم   مدار مملکت ملجاء اسلام[5]

(۲) غیاث الدین و دنیا دؤمین جم   فلک درگاه تغلق شاه عالم

جهانداری که زخم گرز و خنجر   شدش ضبط ممالک چون سکندر

(۳) فلک سان در زمانه قهرمان باد   بگیتی تخت و ملکش جاودان باد

کمینه بندهٔ شاه نکو نام   که شد در نوبتش مسجد باتمام

(۴) ملک تاج الدول با بخت سرمد   محمد خلق نیکو اسم احمد

ز بحر تلبغه در گزیده   بسلک عون یزدان در کشیده

(۵) چو بر هفصد فزون شد بست و دو راست   در و دیوار و صحن مسجد آراست

ز هجرت مه ربیع آخرین بود   گذشته یک دهه کاین کار آسود

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[1] For the histroy of Mahoba and its antiquities, see E. T. Atkinson, *Statisticcl, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India*, vol. I (Allahabad, 1874), pp. 520-29 ; Führer, *MANWP*, pp. 174-77 ; D. L. Drake-Brockman, *UPG*, vol. XXII, Hamirpur (Allahabad, 1909), pp. 195-201.

[2] *ARIE*, 1952-53, No. C, 138.

[3] Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-57. Etkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 522, who was responsible for bringing to light the epigraph, quotes Blochmann's translation in full, while Drake-Brockman, *op. cit.*, p. 200, merely gives its gist.

[4] The dot of غ is absent in the plate.

[5] Thus on the stone, but it does not rhyme with Iqlīm. Perhaps *Islīm* was intended.

TRANSLATION

(1) By the divine grace, good news came that a mosque was constructed at Mahoba,

during the reign of the king of seven climes, pivot of the kingdom and shelter of Islām,

(2) Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn wa Dunyā, the second Jamshīd, one whose audience-hall is sky, Tughluq, Shāh (i.e. king) of the world,

the sovereign who has, by the blow of his mace and dagger, subjugated kingdoms, like Alexander.

(3) May he, like the sky, be overwhelming in the world, (and) may his throne and kingdom last for ever on earth !

The humble servant of the king of good name, in the tenure of whose governorship the mosque was completed,

(4) is Malik Tāju'd-Duwal with everlasting luck, (who is) Muḥammad-like in disposition and Aḥmad by name,

the precious (lit. select) pearl from the ocean of Talbagha, a pearl which has been strung through the help of god.

(5) When it was exactly twentytwo above seven hundred, he decorated the doors, walls and courtyard of the mosque.

From the Migration, the month was the second Rabī', (of which) a period of ten days was over, when this work was completed (10 Rabī' II 722-28 April 1322).

The epigraph is quite important in that it mentions the relationship of the governor Tāju'd- Duwal Aḥmad with Talbagha, himself a nobleman of first rank. The latter's name is variously written in historical works, as in the case of Malik Mal of the previous record, but before discussing the spelling of his name, it will not be out of place to draw attention to the fact that historical works mention Tablagha, son of Yaghda and Talbagha Nāgaurī, i.e. of Nagaur in Rajasthan,[1] as two contemporaries, taking part in political affairs simultaneously.

What is worth more than passing mention here, is the way in which the name Talbagha is spelt in the text. Historians or to be more correct, the printed editions of their works, give various spellings of the name : Among the contemporaries, Amīr Khusraw has تلبغا, Baranī, تليعه in one place and تلبغه in the remaining six places and 'Iṣāmī تلبغه and تليغه in one place each, تبغه in two and تلغيه in three places.[2] Of the later writers, Yaḥyā Sirhindī has تلبغه in both the places, Badāyūnī تليعه, also in both places, and Ḥājjī Dabīr تليمه in one and تلبغه in the other place.[3] In view of this, it is no wonder that modern writers should have shown no inclination to determine the correct form of this name : majority have been in favour of Talbagha or Tulbagha, and few of Talīgha. For example, among the latest

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[1] For particulars, see Amīr Khusraw, *Tughluq Nāma* (Aurangabad, 1933), p. 118 ; Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 379, 399, 400, 401 and 420 ; 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 356, 357, 371, 374, 376, 406 ; Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 85 ; Badāyūnī, *Muntakhabu't- Tawārīkh*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 212, 220 ; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 845, 851 ; etc. An interesting reference to Talbagha son of Yaghda will be found in Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khairu'l-Majālis* (Aligarh), p. 257.

[2] Khusraw, *op. cit.*, Baranī, *op. cit.* ; 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*

[3] Yaḥyā, *op. cit* ; Badāyūnī, *op. cit* ; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*

writers, Dr. K. S. Lal writes Talbagha and Dr. Riḍawī has (in *nāgarī* transcript) Tulbagha and Talbagha, while Dr. A. Mahdī Ḥusain, the latest to write, prefers Talīgha.[1] It is on this point that the present epigraph provides important evidence, according to which the correct form of the name is Talbagha with the quiescent *l* and movent *b*.

Not much is known about Talbagha's son Malik Aḥmad entitled Tāju'd-Duwal, who is spoken of in the record as one during whose tenure of office the mosque was constructed. He is almost ignored by the historians. Now, Baranī includes one Malik Tāju'd-Dīn with the name Aḥmad in his list of the nobles of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī,[2] and very likely, he is identical with the Mahoba governor. But beyond this, Baranī has nothing to say. It is only 'Iṣāmī who furnishes an important piece of information about him which is not to be found elsewhere. 'Iṣāmī, it may be stressed, clearly calls him Aḥmad, son of Talbagha, and states that he was given charge of Tirhut by Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh before the latter left for Delhi, after the conquest of that region.[3] One more link in the career of Malik Tāju'd-Duwal Aḥmad is now supplied by the present epigraph, according to which he was governor of Mahoba in A.H. 722.[4] This fact is also extremely important in indicating the extent of the Tughluq authority in Bundelkhand.

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[1] K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljīs* (Allahabad, 1950), pp. 341, 361 ; Riḍawī, *Khaljī-kālīn Bhārat* (Aligarh, 1955), pp. 135, 136, 209, 211, 212, 225 ; Mahdī Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 76.

[2] Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[3] 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 406. Incidentally, among the modern authors, only Mahdī Ḥusain mentions this fact.

[4] While editing the Junagadh inscription of Tāju'd-Duwal Aḥmad dated A.H. 726, sometime back, I had suggested as somewhat likely that he might be identical with the Mahoba governor. But at that time I had not been able to decipher the father's name Talbagha in the Mahoba record. Now, in case the doubtfully read name Ayāz in the Junagadh inscription (*EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 90), is found correct, as is very likely the case, Tāju'd-Dīn of the Mahoba epigraph would be different. In that case, it would mean that the Mahoba official had either expired or received another title by the time Junagadh inscription was set up in A.H. 726, i.e. within four years of his Mahoba assignment.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE QUTB SHAHI KINGS

By M. F. Khan

It is at the suggestion of Dr. Z. A. Desai, the editor of this journal, that I have selected for study in this article such Quṭb Shāhī inscriptions as are on the record in our office. A number of epigraphs of these rulers were earlier published by Major T. W. Haig, Dr. G. Yazdānī, Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, 'Alī Asghar Bilgrāmī, Khwāja Muḥammad Aḥmad and Dr. Z. A. Desai, in the previous issues of this series and elsewhere.[1]

Out of these eight inscriptions, two each represent the reigns of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, and the remaining four pertain to the time of 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh. These epigraphs are important both historically and palaeographically and are studied here in chronological order.

The first two records belong to the same monument and are therefore identical in purport. They were first discovered by my colleague, Shri S. A. Rahim, Epigraphical Assistant, on the gateways of a ruined mosque at Gazinagar, now a petty village of no importance in Devarkonda *tāluka*, in the Nalgonda district of Andhra Pradesh. Both the epigraphs purport that the mosque, designated in one of them as *Bait-i-Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāhī* (lit. house of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh), was constructed in 1576-77. But in neither record, the name of the builder of the mosque is quoted.

The first of the two is carved on a slab measuring 1.47 m. by 33 cm. fixed over the eastern gateway.[2] Its text comprises the First Creed, as modified by the Shī'as and a tradition of the Prophet, inscribed in the middle panel in six lines, and two verses engraved in two lines each in the side panels, which record that the mosque, built through the will of God, was named the house of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and that it was A.H. 984 (1576-77 A.D.), when the construction took place. The date is given in words. The style of writing is *Naskh* of no particular merit.

TEXT

Plate VI (*a*)

(*a*) *Right panel.*

(۱) این مسجد معموره بناء شد از خواست الهی

(۲) نام نهاده شد بیت ابراهیم قطبشاهی

(*b*) *Middle panel.*

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد

(۲) رسول الله علی ولی الله

---

[1] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1907-08, pp. 23-28; *ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 48-55, 57, pls. XVII a & b, XVIII a & b, XIX a & b, XX a; *ibid.*, 1915-16, pp. 19-40, pls. V a&b, VI a & b, IX b, X a & b; *ibid.*, 1917-18, pp. 48-55, pls. XVIII c, XIX a & b, XX a & b, XXI, XXII, XXIII a & b; *ibid.*, 1925-26, pp. 23-24, 26-27, pls. X b, XI a, XII; *ibid.*, 1935-36, pp. 61-62, pl. XXXIX; *ibid.*, 1937-38, p. 49, pl. XVII a; *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 23-33, pls. VII b, IX a & b, X b; S.A.A. Bilgrāmī, *Landmarks of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1927) and Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Waqi'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bījāpūr*, vol. III (Agra, 1915).

[2] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1963-64, No. D, 17.

(۳) قال النبے صلی ا[لله] علیه و

(۴) سلم من تکلم کلام الدنیا

(۵) فی المسجد احبط الله من عمل

(۶) ببکة سبعین سنة

(c) *Left panel.*

(۱) ز نهصد فزون بود هشتاد چار

(۲) بسمع هوش بشنو ای هوش دار

TRANSLATION

(*a*)(1) This well populated mosque was built by the divine will.

(2) It was designated *Bait-i-Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāhī*.

(*b*)(1) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is

(2) the Prophet of Allāh, 'Alī is the Friend of Allāh.

(3) Said the Prophet, on him be Allāh's blessings and

(4) peace, 'He who talks of worldly affairs

(5-6) in the mosque, Allāh renders all the good deeds he may have done at Mecca for seventy years'.

(*c*)(1) It (i.e. the date) was eightyfour above nine hundred (A.H. 984=1576-77 A.D.).

(2) Remember this, O sensible person with the ear of sense !

The second inscription, appears above the southern gate of the same mosque[1] and also contains a tradition of the Prophet, different from above but commonly found in mosque epigraphs, and the date in figure, in the middle panel and one verse in each of the side panels. The style of writing of the Arabic text is Thulth and that of the Persian, *Nasta'līq*. It will be observed that the calligraphy of this epigraph is much superior to that of the preceding one.

The tablet measures 1·36 m. by 30 cm. Its text is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate VI (b)

(*a*) *Middle panel.*

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) علی ولے الله حقا حقا و ان

(۳) المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(۴) سنه ۹۸۴

[1] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 18.

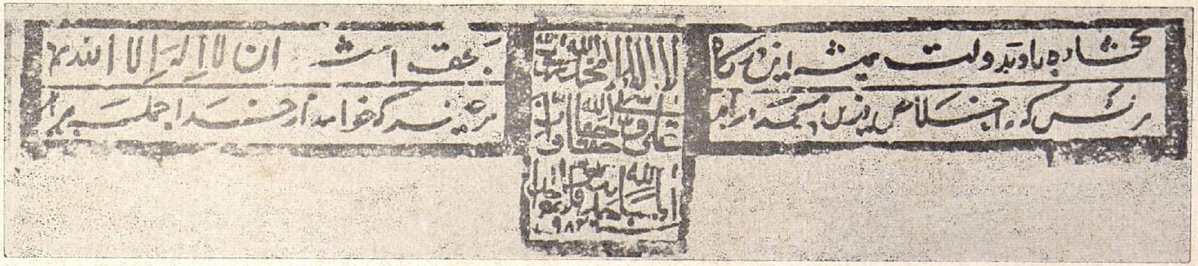
QUṮB SHĀHĪ INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES VI—IX)

(*a*) Epigraph of the time of Ibrāhīm, dated A.H. 984, Gazinagar (p. 27)

SCALE : ·12

(*b*) Another version of the same inscription (p. 28)



SCALE : ·13

(*a*) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1045, of 'Abdu'llāh, Hyderabad (p. 31)

Scale : ·14

(*b*) Inscription registering an endowment, same place (p. 34)

Scale : ·4

(*c*) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1011, of Muḥammad Qulī, Medak (p. 29)

Scale : ·09

(*b*) *Right and left panels.*

(۱) کشاده باد بدولت همیشه این درگاه   بحق اشهد ان لا اله الا الله

(۲) هر کس که به اخلاص درین مسجد در آید   هر چیز که خواهند از خدا جمله برآید

TRANSLATION

(*a*)(1) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥmmad is the Prophet of Allāh (and)

(2) 'Alī is the friend of Allāh, for certain. 'And verily,

(3) the mosques are for Allāh (only) ; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh.'[1]

(4) Year (A.H.) 984 (1576-77 A.D.).

(*b*)(1) May this threshold remain always open, by the grace of God and through the blessing of (the Creed) 'I bear witness that there is no god but Allāh'!

(2) He who enters this mosque, through sincerity of heart, whatever he wishes, gets from God.

The name of the builder is not quoted in the above records. But from the Shiite First Creed, quoted in both the epigraphs, he appears to have professed the Shī'a creed.

The third inscription to be studied here is an important record of the time of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh. It occurs on the side of a bastion, towards east, of the Bālā-Ḥiṣār fort of Medak, a *tāluka*-headquarters in the district of the same name, in Andhra Pradesh.[2] Situated in 18°3′ N. and 78°26′ E., this one-time strongly fortified town formed part of the ancient kingdom of the Rāja of Warangal. In 1309, Malik Kāfūr, the famous general of 'Alāu'd-Din Khaljī, marched with a large army against the Rāja and took Medak.[3] In the second half of the 14th century, it was part of the Bahmanī dominion, and subsequently passed on to the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty in the time of Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh in 1545.[4]

This epigraph was first noticed by Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, who did not illustrate it. His reading is very faulty. He read مندر for میدك and also failed to read the portion containing the date in words.[5] The huge epigraphical tablet, measuring 2.10 m. by 35 cm., contains only one line of text, comprising, what is evidently intended to be, two Persian verses,[6] which do not appear to bring any credit to the composer. The style of writing, likewise, is *Thulth* of no particular merit, except that it is remarkable for its boldness. The epigraph records that the bastion of Medak was completed in the month of Rabī' I 1011 (August-September 1602), during the reign of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh and that it was constructed by Aḥmad.

Its text is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate VII(*c*)

بنا کرد احمد بتاریخ ربیع الاول ماه   در ایام سلطان محمد قلی قطب شاه

هجرة محمد علیه الصلوة علیه السلام   هزار و شش پنج سا'و ماه برج میدک شد تمام

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1 *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXVII, verse 18.

2 *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 5.

3 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XVII (Oxford, 1908), p. 246.

4 Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 645.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.* takes it to be in prose.

TRANSLATION

Aḥmad constructed, in the month of Rabī'u'l-Awwal, during the days of Sulṭān Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh.

(In the year of) the Migration of (the Prophet) Muḥammad, peace and salutation be on him, one thousand, six and five years, the bastion of Medak was completed (Rabī'u'l-Awwal 1011=August-September 1602).

We have no information about Aḥmad, the builder of the bastion of Medak, whose name even would have remained in oblivion but for this record, but there is a strong possibility that he was an official. The epigraph thus provides important piece of information about the history of the construction of the Medak fort.

The fourth inscription of the article is an unpublished record of the same king. Its tablet which is unfortunately fragmentary, was found lying loose in the Khazāna building at Golconda, and on examination by Dr. Z. A. Desai in the course of a visit to the fort, was found to contain a *farmān* of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, recording the grant of 30 *bīghas* of land to a saintly family. It only quotes the dynasty-name Quṭbu'l-Mulk for the king.[1]

The epigraphical tablet, measuring 30 by 32 cm., contains a record of six lines in Persian, executed in *Nasta'līq* characters of a fairly high order. It will be seen that the upper part of the slab is inscribed with a three-pronged figure, which may stand for the hand-impression found on certain categories of royal letters.

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII(a)

(۱) چون یک قطعه زمین بموجب

(۲) فرمان محمد قلی قطب الملک ارا

(۳) ضی سی بیگه زمین باسم سیادت پناه(؟)

(۴) حسنعلی عرب فرزند میران(؟) سید یوسف

(۵) مخدوم جهانیان نیک سامان ....

(۶) محدود است کسی مزاحم گردد طلاق است

TRANSLATION

(1) Since a piece of land, in accordance with

(2) the order (*farmān*) of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭbu'l Mulk,

(3) measuring thirty *bīghas*, (was allotted) in the name of the asylum of chiefship (i.e. Sayyid),

(4) Ḥasan 'Alī 'Arab, son of Mīrān (?) Sayyid Yūsuf

(5) Makhdūm Jahāniyān, of pious actions............

(6) bounded, whosoever obstructs (the aforesaid person), will run the risk of divorce.

I am not in a position to say anything about the persons mentioned in the record. The text, being unfortunately incomplete, does not contain the usual details regarding the

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[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 1.

(*a*) Grant of Muḥammad Qulī regarding land, Golconda (p. 30)

SCALE : ·2

(*b*) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1069, of the time of 'Abdu'llāh, Hyderabad (p. 34)

SCALE : ·08

village or town where the land was situated, the family background of the grantee, the purpose of the grant, etc.

The fifth inscription of this study is one of the four records pertaining to the reign of ʻAbdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh. Its tablet is fixed over the main entrance of the Muḥiyu'd-Daula mosque, locally called Ḥusainī Masjid, which is architecturally an insignificant building, situated in the Kūcha-i-Nasīm in Machhlī Kamān at Hyderabad.[1]

Attention to the presence of two interesting inscriptions, each, on this mosque as well as another one situated in the neighbourhood, as will be mentioned shortly, was first drawn by the late Sayyid ʻ Alī Asghar Bilgrāmī in his book on the archaeological remains of Hyderabad city and suburbs entitled *Landmarks of the Deccan*, published in 1927. But unfortunately, he did not notice the inscriptions of both the mosques in full or in detail. Moreover, his reading, probably noted from memory, was not accurate either. Nevertheless, to him goes the credit of discovering these records.

The Ḥusainī-Masjid, which is otherwise a small mosque of no architectural merit, has its central *miḥrāb* built wholly of black basalt. It bears two inscriptions : one is above the main entrance of the mosque and the other on the three sides of the rectangular frame enclosing the said niche. Bilgrāmī who has only quoted the concluding portion, which is historical, of the second of these two inscriptions, has misread the date as A.H. 1046 instead of A.H. 1045.[2]

The tablet fixed over the main entrance measures 1.20 m. by 43 cm. and is inscribed with a four-line text which begins with a Quranic verse and ends with a tradition of the Prophet and also contains a Persian fragment of five couplets. The writing is signed and dated by the calligrapher. viz. Mīr ʻ Alī, son of Mīr ʻ Alī Jān Mashhadī. While there is nothing very particular about the poetry of these verses, though it is certainly better than that of a good many such epigraphs, its style of writing is decidedly of a very good order. As a matter of fact, it was in regard to the calligraphical aspect of the other inscription on this very mosque that Bilgrāmī had occasion to point out that record. The style is a fine specimen of *Naskh* which should determine the position of its master, Mīr ʻ Alī, among the calligraphists of first rank.

The epigraph states that in the reign of the just king ʻ Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh, Ḥājī Ḥusainī constructed the mosque, through Divine guidance, in A.H. 1045 (1635 A.D.). The text, which was written on the 22nd Rabīʻ I of the said year (26th August, 1635), has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate VII (a)

(۱) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

در عهد بادشاه جوان بخت کامران	قطبشهان پناه امم ظل کردگار
عبد الله آن سپهر سخا (۲) شاه جم نشان	سلطان با عدالت و دارای با وقار
حاجے حسینے انکه بتوفیق ایزدی	در خمس و اربعین ز هجرت پس از هزار
کرد این (۳) بنای مسجد با فیض روح بخش	بهر امید انکه خدا در گه شمار
اندر بهشت خانهٔ سازد عطا باو[3]	زیرا که این حدیث ز احمد شد آشکار

[1] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 1.
[2] Bilgrāmī, *Landmarks of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1927), pp. 53-54, f.n.1.
[3] It is surprising that this beautiful inscription should contain this orthographical mistake. The correct phrase is either به او or باو.

(۴) من بنی مسجدا لله بنی الله له بیتا فی الجنة کتبه العبد میر علی ابن میر علی جان مشهدے بیست دوم شهر ربیع الاول سنه ۱۰۴۵

TRANSLATION

(1) ' And verily, the mosques are for Allāh ; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh '.[1]

During the reign of the most fortunate and successful king, Quṭb (i.e. the pole-star) among the Shāhs (i.e. monarchs), the refuge of the people, the shadow of God,

' Abdu'llāh, that sky of generosity,

(2) the king who puts Jamshīd on the throne, a just sovereign and a dignified Daraius,

Ḥājī Ḥusainī who by Divine guidance, in (the year) five and forty of Migration after one thousand, laid this

(3) foundation of the bountiful and soul-nourishing mosque, in the hope that God may, at the time of reckoning (on the day of judgment),

bestow on him a house in Paradise, because this saying has been quoted of (the Prophet) Aḥmad, (viz.)

(4) 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise'. Written by the humble creature, Mīr ' Alī, son of Mīr ' Ali Jān Mashhadī, (on the) 22nd of the month of Rabī'u'l-Awwal, 1045 (26th August 1635).

It is not possible to establish the identity of the calligrapher, but according to Mr. Bilgrāmī, it was also this Mīr ' Alī who designed the Quranic inscription occurring on the Raḥīm Khān's mosque, in Hyderabad, which was built in A.H. 1053 (1643-44 A.D.).[2] Though, in the absence of an illustration it is difficult either to accept or reject this identification, the time factor is in its favour. But Mr. Bilgrāmī is definitely wrong to state that our Mīr ' Alī was a contemporary of Mīr ' Alīu'l-Kātib and Mīr 'Alī Tabrīzī.'[3] Mīr ' Aliū'l-Kātib, who is, incidentally, identical with Mīr ' Alī Tabrīzī, flourished more than two centuries earlier. Even Mīr ' Alī Hirawī had died in A.H. 924.[4]

The other epigraph on the Ḥusainī-Masjid, which forms the sixth record of this study, is carved in one line along the three sides of the rectangular frame of the central *miḥrāb*.[5] The top side has one additional line above, containing a famous tradition of the Prophet about offering prayers and repentance before it is too late. The major part of the text is taken up by the Shiite *durūd*, and it is towards the end that the historical portion occurs. This comprises what I take to be a hemistich in Arabic, containing the name of the builder, followed by the name of the scribe Mīr ' Alī and the date.

This inscription was also referred to by Mr. Bilgrāmī in his work. But the historical portion quoted by him is not the correct rendering of this epigraph. According to him, the said portion reads : In the year 1046 A. H. Written by the servant Mir Ali and Haji Mubarak. The Hussaini Mosque.[6]

Mr. Bilgrāmī has thus confused the words of the text. From the reading quoted below, it will be observed that the text mentions Mīr ' Alī as the scribe independently. It gives the name

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1 *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXVII, verse 18.

2 *EIM*, 1917-18, p.48 ; Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 54, f.n.2.

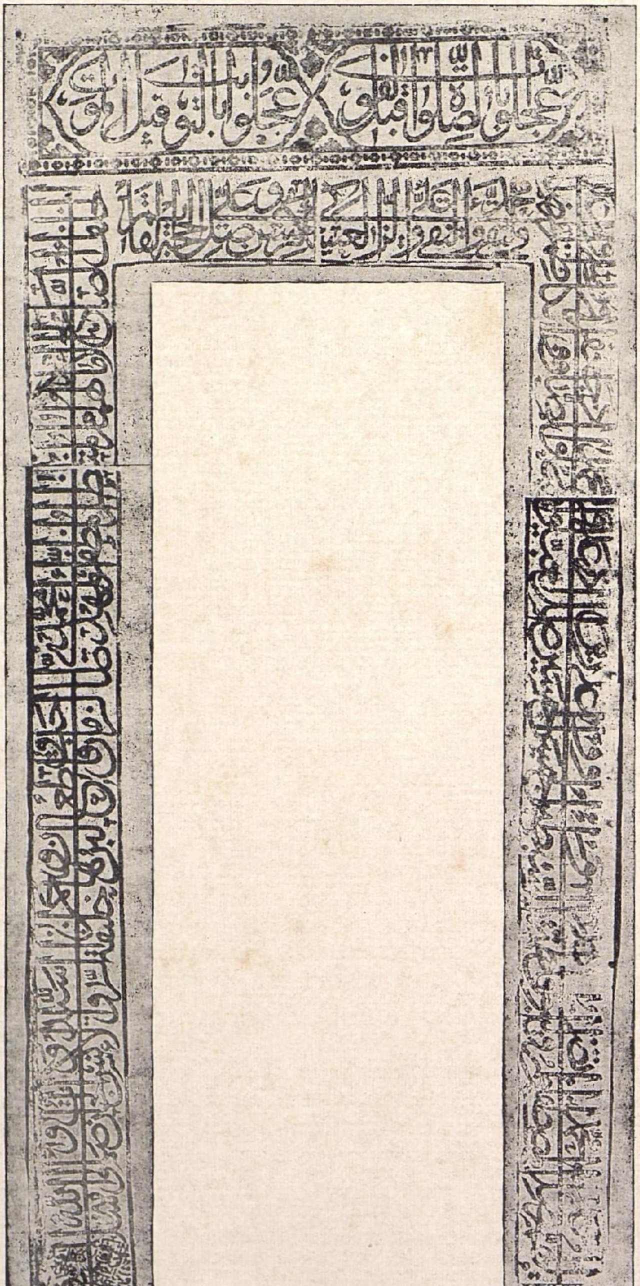
3 Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

4 Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Eng. tr. H. Blochmann (Calcutta, 1927), p. 108 and f.n.8.

5 *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 2.

6 Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*

Inscription, dated A.H. 1045, of the time of
'Abdu'llāh, Hyderabad (p. 33)



SCALE : ·09

of Ḥājī Ḥusainī along with the mosque, of which he was the builder. The correct reading of the date is, likewise, A.H. 1045 and not 1046.

The text occupies the writing space of 1.88 m. by 16 cm. each on the right and left sides, and 90 by 18 and 70 by 15 cm. on the top side, of the prayer-niche. It provides, particularly in the portion containing the Shiite *durūd*, an excellent specimen of *Thulth* writing while, the part containing the names of the builder and the scribe is inscribed in *Naskh* which is not so exquisite.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate IX

(*a*) *Top side, upper line.*

عجلوا با لصلوة قبل الفوت عجلوا بالتوبت قبل الموت

(*b*) *Right side.*

اللهم صل علے محمد المصطفی و علے المرتضے و البتول فاطمه و السبطین الحسن و
الحسین و صل علے زین العباد و علے الباقر محمد و الصادق جعفر و الکاظم موسے و الرضا علے

(*c*) *Top side, lower line.*

و التقے محمد و النقے علے و الزکی العسکرے حسن و صل علے الحجة القائمة

(*d*) *Left side.*

الخلف الصالح الامام الهمام و المنتظر المظفر المهدے محمد صاحب الزمان و قاطع
البرهان و خلیفة الرحمن و سید الانس و الجان صلوات الله و سلام لمسجد مبارک و حاجے
حسینے کتبه العبد میر علے فے ۱۰۴۵

TRANSLATION

(*a*) Hasten with prayer before its expiry (and) hasten with repentence before death (overtakes).

(*b-d*) Shiite *durūd* in full.

Verily, the mosque is auspicious, and (so be) Ḥājī Ḥusainī.

Written by the humble creature, Mīr ' Alī, in (A.H.) 1045 (1635 A.D.).

The seventh inscription of the present study is from a mosque called Quṭb Shāhī-Masjid which is situated near the Gandī-Bāolī lane in the Irānī Galī, in Hyderabad, not far from the above mosque. It was also first mentioned by Mr. Bilgrāmī, according to whom, ' the excellence of its calligraphy, justifies its placing on record'.[2] As in the case of the other mosque, there are two epigraphs here, both on the central *miḥrāb*, but Mr. Bilgrāmī had noticed only one. The larger of the two inscriptions is engraved on the three sides of the rectangular frame of the *miḥrāb*',[3] and the other, occupying less space, is inscribed on the architrave above the same *miḥrāb*.[4]

The former consists of Shiite *durūd* in a slightly abridged form than in the previous epigraph and a line in Persian purporting that the builder of the mosque which was completed in the reign of ' Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh, was Ṣāliḥa, wife of Baṛe Ṣāḥib and daughter of Dargāh Qulī. It was written in A. H. 1069 (1658 A.D.) by Muḥammad ' Alī.

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[1] The word looks like المسجد, but the ا is nothing but the top shaft of ا of با in مبارک.

[2] Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, f.n.1.

[3] *ARIE*. 1956-57, No. D, 3.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. D, 4.

This inscription also furnishes a fine specimen of calligraphical style in mural records. The script is <u>*Thulth*</u> of a high order. The text, which occupies a writing space of 1.75 m. by 16 cm. on the right and left sides each, and 1·05 m. by 16 cm. on the top side, of the prayer-niche, has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (*b*)

(*a*) *Right side.*

اللهم صل على المصطفى محمد و المرتضى على و البتول فاطمه و السبطين الحسن و

الحسين و صل على زين العباد و على الباقر محمد

(*b*) *Top side.*

و الصادق جعفر و الكاظم موسى و الرضا على و التقى محمد و النقى على

(*c*) *Left side.*

و الزكى العسكرے محمد بن الحسن صاحب الزمان صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين بانے مسجد

صالحه زوجهٔ بريصاحب بنت درگاه قلے در زمان سلطان عبد الله قطبشاه تمام شد كتبه محمد على

سنه ۱۰۶۹

TRANSLATION

(*a-c*) Shiite *durūd*. The builder of the mosque (is) Ṣāliḥa, wife of Baṛe Ṣāḥib (and) daughter of Dargāh Qulī. It was completed during the reign of Sulṭān ʻ Abdu'llāh Quṭb <u>Sh</u>āh. Written by Muḥammad ʻ Alī, (in the) year (A.H.) 1069 (1658 A.D.).

The other inscription on the mosque is inscribed in <u>*Naskh*</u> of no particular merit, on the architrave above the central *miḥrāb*. Running into one line of Persian prose, this important record registers the grant of some property as endowment for the maintenance of the mosque. It states that the income from the garden of the mosque was to be used for the stipends of the *mu'a<u>dhdh</u>in* (caller-to-prayer) and *farrā<u>sh</u>* (sweeper) and for the prayer-carpets, oil for lamp, and repairs of reservoir. It ends with an imprecation against any one seeking to interfere with the bequest. No trace of the garden, mentioned in the text, which must have originally enclosed the mosque, remains today. As a matter of fact, the land around is taken up by residential houses.

The text, which occupies a writing space of 45 by 7 cm., has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate VII (*b*)

حاصل باغ مسجد جهت وظيفه موذن و فراش و حصير و روغن چراغ و حوض وضو(؟)

وقف نموده شد هر كه تخلف ورزد و مانع گردد لعنت خدا بر او

TRANSLATION

The income accruing from the garden of the mosque has been endowed for meeting the expenditure in respect of the salaries of the caller-to-prayer and the sweeper, prayer-mats, oil for lamp, and (repairs of) the cistern of water for ablution. Whosoever disobeys or interferes, the curse of God will be upon him!

INSCRIPTIONS OF JAHANGIR IN THE PATNA DISTRICT

BY DR. Q. AHMAD

The political history of the Mughal period being well-known in its general outlines, the utility of inscriptions as a supplementary source of information for the period is, comparatively, limited. But the same cannot be said about the history of some of the outlying provinces of the Mughal kingdom.

Our knowledge of the political history of Bihar, for example, is, at best, sketchy. For some periods, we have only the names of the provincial governors, and even this is not quite true for the whole period. Therefore, in so far as some of the inscriptions help to fill some minor detail of the provincial history, they are important. They also provide us with some details about the career of the provincial governors and other officials. These details, along with such other information as is available in the contemporary chronicles, enable us to determine their career a little more fully and precisely. It is from this point of view that the present inscriptions of the time of Jahāngīr have been studied in this article.

Among the Mughal emperors, Jahāngīr is fairly well represented by his extant inscriptions in Bihar. We know of ten inscriptions of his, of which five are found in the district of Patna (four being in Patna city itself) and five, at other places.[1] The present article deals with the first five epigraphs, leaving the rest for some subsequent occasion.

Palaeographically, they do not present much of a problem, all of them having been inscribed in fair and bold *Nasta'līq*. While all these epigraphs have been listed in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*, three of them were also published and translated into English some time back. But the published readings are not always free from mistakes, and on some points, they suffer from serious errors.[2] Also, no attempt was made to identify the persons concerned or to collect such information about them as is available in contemporaneous chronicles. In this article, I propose to offer improved readings of the texts and relevant information about the personages mentioned therein. It will thus add a little more substance to the shadowy outlines of their career as we know at present.

I-II. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 1023 & 1025, FROM PATNA

These epigraphs come from Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm's mosque. This mosque is the earliest dated monument of the Mughal period in Patna city. It is situated on the main road, near the Pachchhim-Darwāza in Maḥalla-Guzrī.[3] Its full view is obstructed by the various shops situated in its *katra*, but one gets a fine view of this beautiful three domed mosque, once he enters through the richly carved and polished door-frame of black basalt, on the northern side. The door-frame as well as the two top steps leading thereto are decorated with fine flowered carvings. These slabs belonged, perhaps, to some ancient local palace or temple. According to Syed Mohammad, who published the text of this epigraph, these probably belonged to Gaur in Malda district of West Bengal.[4] In this connection, it may be mentioned that the undated Ḥājī Tātār mosque, situated

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[1] For these, see *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1955-56, Nos. D, 60, 71, 83, 94, 102 and *ibid.*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 7, 23.

[2] Syed Mohammad, 'Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna', *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (*JBORS*), vol. XVI (1930), pp. 327-422 and M. H. Kuraishi, 'A note on Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna', *JBORS*, vol. XVIII (1932), pp. 45-47.

[3] *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 94.

[4] Mohammad, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

in Maḥalla-Ḥājīganj, also has some strips of similarly carved stone along its front wall and the central arch.

There are three inscriptions in the mosque, of which the one in Persian verse is historical and the other two, in Arabic, contain Quranic text; one of the latter is also dated[1] and is studied next. The Persian inscription is engraved on a slab measuring 1 m. by 67 cm., which is fixed above the central arch in the facade. Its text runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate X(a)

(۱) بدور شاه جهانگیر میرزا معصوم

(۲) بساخت مسجد جامع بفیض باد رفیق

(۳) چو سال او ز خرد خواستم ز هاتف غیب

(۴) ندا رسید که بیت العتیق شد تحقیق

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of emperor Jahāngīr, Mīrzā Mā'ṣūm

(2) built a Jāmi' mosque. May it be associated with bounty!

(3) When I sought the date of its (construction) from the Angel of the Unseen,

(4) a voice called out, 'Verily, it is (like) the Old House (i.e. Ka'ba)'!

The chronogram contained in the last line, when worked out, yields A.H. 1023 (1614-15 A.D.).

The dated Arabic record referred to above contains Quranic text enjoining the observance of the Friday prayer and is dated A.H. 1025. It is inscribed in three lines in *Naskh*-cum-*Thulth*, on a slab of stone, measuring 64 by 52 cm., which is fixed above the central *miḥrāb*.[2] Its calligraphy is of a fairly high order. The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate X(b)

(۱) یا ایها الذین آمنوا اذا نودی للصلوة من یوم الجمعة فاسعوا

(۲) الی ذکر الله و ذروا البیع ذلکم خیر لکم ان کنتم تعلمون

(۳) فاذا قضیت الصلوة فانتشروا فی الارض و ابتغوا من فضل الله سنة ۱۰۲۵

TRANSLATION

(1-3) *Qur'ān*, chapter LXII, part of verses 9-10. Year (A.H.) 1025 (1616 A.D.).

It will be observed that the Persian epigraph is dated A.H. 1023, but the Arabic one is dated two years later. This may be taken to mean that the mosque was commenced in A.H. 1023 (1614-15 A.D.) and was completed after about two years.[3]

The main point of interest in the epigraph is the builder of the mosque, Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm. Several persons bearing this name are mentioned in some of the contemporary historical works.

[1] The undated Arabic inscription contains Quranic text (chapter III, part of verse 39).

[2] *ARIE* 1955-56, No. D, 95 and Mohammad, *op. cit.*

[3] Mohammad, *op. cit.*, p. 342, thinks that the later date may refer to the completion of the work inside the hall.

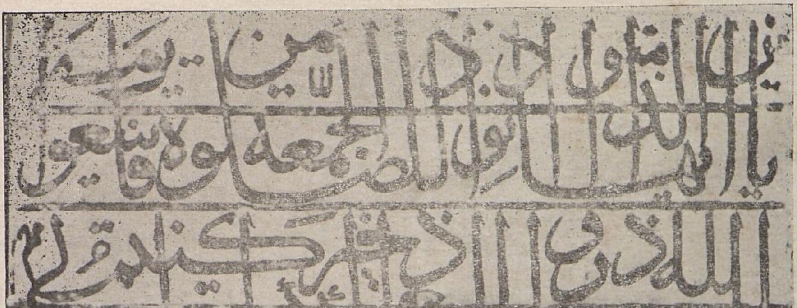
INSCRIPTIONS OF JAHĀNGĪR

(PLATES X—XII)

(*a*) Inscription, dated A.H. 1023, from Patna (p. 36)

SCALE : ·12

(*b*) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1025, same place (p. 36)



SCALE : ·19

The *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī* of Mīrzā Nathan alone, mentions six persons of this name,[1] but only one of them, viz. Ma'ṣūm Khāfī (Khwāfī),[2] bears the significant prefix of Mīrzā.[3] The various references about him in the above work also make it probable that he was the builder of the mosque.

As related by Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm himself to Mīrzā Nathan, he was a relation of Shamsu'd-Dīn Khān Khwāfī,[4] the *dīwān* and, later on, the *vazīr* of Akbar. Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm and his father met him at Gujarat, after they had been robbed and had suffered some other disasters which rendered them penniless and without shelter. Shamsu'd-Dīn helped them generally, and soon after, probably through his recommendation, they entered Imperial service. Shamsu'd-Dīn was later on transferred to Bihar, and he was one of the important imperial officers captured by the rebels, during the great uprising of 1580-81. He somehow escaped from their clutches and sought shelter with Rājā Sangrām Singh of Kharagpūr.[5] It is quite likely that Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm too came to Bihar along with his distinguished relation and patron.

Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm is again referred to in the early years of Jahāngīr's reign. During the course of an expedition sent by Islām Khān, the governor of Bengal, against Bāyazīd Karrānī for the conquest of Sylhet, he found himself in need of some reinforcements and replacement, to guard the capital in the absence of the army. The emperor, accordingly, ordered Afḍal Khān, the governor of Bihar, ' to depute the officers of the province to Islām Khān under the command of Mīrzā Imām Qulī Bēg Shāmlū, a brother-in-law of Jahāngīr Qulī Khān, with Sazāwals in their company'.[6] The contingent was duly sent, and it presented itself, within fifteen days, before Islām Khān. He ordered for cash payment of six months' expenses to each of them, and after a week's stay, despatched them with Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm, who was appointed as Sazāwal.[7] It is not quite clear from the above-noted reference, whether Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm was appointed Sazāwal from Bihar itself or later on from Bengal. The former possibility is, however, more likely, since the governor of Bihar was specifically ordered to appoint Sazāwals to accompany the troops, and he must have done so. The fact that the name of the Sazāwal is not mentioned at the first stage, is of not much significance.

Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm rendered distinguished military service in Assam. He was among the various Khāns and Manṣabdārs appointed by Islām Khān for his expedition against Kuch and displayed conspicuous valour in the attack on the fort of Dhubri and also served, from time to time, as a frontier officer of the Mughal empire in the newly conquered areas of Assam. But, after the death of Islām Khān (1613), quarrels grew up between the officers appointed by him, including Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm and those appointed by the new governor to check their muster-rolls. Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm, who was then at Gilhaney, and some others refused to show their muster-rolls and returned to Jahangirnagar (Dacca).[8]

The deputation of Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm from Bihar must have occurred some time between 1608 and 1612, representing the period of the governorship of Afḍal Khān. He returned to Bihar some time after the death of Islām Khān, and it was after his return to Bihar that the mosque was built.

1 Ma'ṣūm Khān; Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābulī, the famous rebel chief of Akbar's time; Ma'ṣūm Khān, father of Mīrzā Mu'min; Ma'ṣūm Khān Masnad-i-A'lā; Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm Khwāfī; and Shaikh Ma'ṣūm, son of Naqīb Khān Turkmān. For them, see Mīrzā Nathan, *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī*, Eng. tr. Dr. M. I. Borah, vols. I and II (Gauhati, 1936), pp. 898-99 of Index.

2 Although it is written as Khāfī in Nathan, *op. cit.*, p. 166, it is actually Khwāfī, i.e. a resident of Khwāf, a place in Khurāsān noted for its distinguished inhabitants.

3 At some places, the name is also written with the prefix Mīr.

4 Nathan, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-82.

5 Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. I. (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 664-69.

6 Nathan, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 216, 222, 230, 231, 235, 275, 287, 293, etc.

An interesting reference to Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm is provided in a Manuscript of the collection of letters of Lālā Ujāgar Chand Gharīb, who flourished in the early part of the 18th century. One of these letters records Guzrī-Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm as the name of a Maḥalla in the city, which was perhaps the same as the one in which the mosque is situated.[1] It is quite likely that Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm, after his services in Assam, returned to Bihar, built the mosque in Patna and also established a market (Guzrī) and, perhaps, settled there.

III. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 1028, FROM PATNA

The third inscription is to be seen over the southern entrance of the domed mausoleum of Shāh Arzānī, situated in the enclosure, popularly called Dargāh.[2] The Dargāh, named after the saint, is the most well-known in the city, being the place of the immersion of Ta'ziyas on the 10th of Muḥarram every year. There is an extensive walled cemetery nearby, containing the tombs of the Sajjāda-Nashīns (spiritual successors of the saint). Small four-walled structures, with or without domes, have been built over these tombs. The mausoleum of Shāh Arzānī, as is to be expected, is the most imposing.[3] It is almost a contemporary structure, which, according to the inscription on the main gate, was built in A. H. 1052 (1642-43 A.D.).[4]

The inscription recording the demise of the saint is carved on a tablet which measures 75 by 40 cm. It comprises two verses in Persian, which are inscribed in *Nasta'līq* of a fairly high order and records, in a chronogram, the date of the death of the saint, who is spoken of as *Quṭb-i-Zamān* (the Pole-star of the time). The chronogram yields A. H. 1028 (1618-19 A.D.), which is also quoted in figure.

The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XI(b)

(۱) رفت قطب زمان بآسانے بریاض بہشت نورانے

(۲) الله

(۳) سال فوتش ز فیض ملهم غیب گفت دل شاه جنت ارزانے

سنه ۱۰۲۸

TRANSLATION

(1) The Quṭb (Pole-star) of the Age went with ease to the gardens of the Illumined Paradise.

(2) Allāh.

(3) (For) the year of his death, the heart (*Dil*), through the bounty of the Inspirer of the Unseen, said, 'Arzānī (became) the lord of Paradise'. Year (A.H.) 1028 (1618-19 A.D.).

Shāh Arzānī, who was thus a contemporary of emperor Jahāngīr, was an inhabitant of the North West Frontier tribal area. A collection of his Pushtū verses is reported to have existed in the valuable library attached to the Dargāh, but is now missing. Very little is known about

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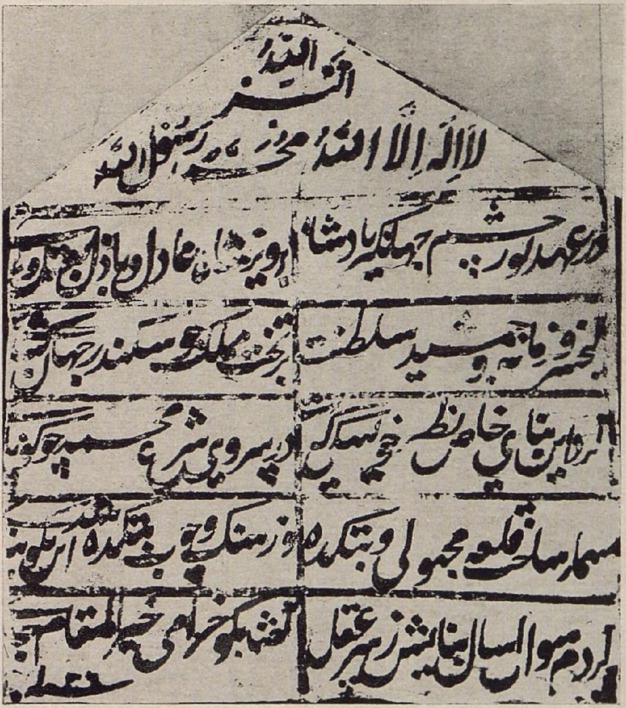
[1] The Manuscript was originally discovered by Professor S. H. 'Askarī (*Hindustan Review*, 1938), and is unfortunately not extant now. I owe the above reference to Professor 'Askarī.

[2] *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 100; Mohammad, *op. cit.*, p. 343; Kurashī, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[3] The tomb of Shāh Arzānī also finds mention in a late eighteenth century biographical work, viz. *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm* of Alī Ibrāhīm Khān Khalīl (Aligarh, 1934), on page 135.

[4] *ARIE*, 1955-56, No D, 101 and Mohammad, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

(*a*) Inscription of Parvīz, dated A.H. 1036, Patna (p. 39)



SCALE : ·19

(*b*) Epitaph of <u>Sh</u>āh Arzānī, from the same place (p. 38)

SCALE : ·16

him. He came to Patna perhaps during Jahāngīr's reign and settled down in what was then an uninhabited area. It is significant that extensive remains of a big Buddhist monastery-*cum*-hospital have been recently excavated at a site quite nearby. It is likely that as was common with many Ṣūfī saints, he also settled near the site of a deserted Buddhist monastery.

According to H. Blochmann, Shāh Arzānī died in A.H. 1040 (1630 A.D.) in the time of Shāh Jahān, but this is incorrect.[1] Again according to him, the famous Birbhum saint Shāh 'Abdu'llāh Kirmānī, who is renowned for his power over serpents, went to Bengal at the request of Shāh Arzānī, who gave him a toothpick of jasemine twig and asked him to remain at the place where the twig would become fresh and green. It was only when Shāh 'Abdu'llāh came to Khushtigṛi, a village in Bhirbhum, that the miracle happened.[2] Incidentally, the Dargāh of Shāh Arzānī is also famous for snake-bite cure.

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1036, FROM THE SAME PLACE

The next inscription of the time of Jahāngīr is from the Patthar-kī-Masjid, which is situated just on the main road in the Maḥalla of the same name, midway between Bankipur and the city area. As the name itself indicates, the mosque is built largely of stones which were procured, as the text of the inscription says, from the demolished fort and temple at Majhauli, conquered by the builder of the mosque, viz. Naẕar Khwīshgī, an officer under Prince Parvīz, the son of Jahāngīr.

Parvīz succeeded Muqarrab Khān as the governor of Bihar in Jahāngīr's 16th regnal year. He, however, does not seem to have come here at all, or at least stayed only for a short time, for he presented himself before his father in the same year, on hearing of his illness. He again met Jahāngīr in the 18th regnal year.[3]

The tablet containing this epigraph is fixed above the central arch of the facade.[4] It measures 60 by 70 cm. and contains a poetical fragment of five verses inscribed in as many lines and preceded by the First Creed and *Takbīr* contained in three lines. The text, which was composed by one with the poetical name Kharāmī, purports that in the time of Parvīz Shāh, son of Jahāngīr Bādshāh, Naẕar Khwīshgī, a staunch follower of the creed of Prophet Muḥammad, built the mosque out of the stone and wood material of the idol-house which, along with the fort of Majhauli, he had destroyed. The date, A.H. 1036 (1626 A.D.), yielded by a chronogram, is also confirmed by figure.

The text, inscribed in *Nasta'līq* of a tolerably good type, reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XI (a)

(۱) الله

(۲) اکبر

(۳) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۴) در عهد نور چشم جهانگیر بادشاه　　پرویز شاه عادل و باذل بعقل و راے

(۵) کیخسرو زمانه و جمشید سلطنت　　بر تخت مملکت چو سکندر جهان کشاے

---

1 *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1870, p. 307.

2 *Ibid*. For an account of the saint, see Ghulām-Sarwar, *Khazīnatu'l-Aṣfiyā*, Vol. II (Kanpur, 1902), p. 94 ff.

3 Jahāngīr, *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (Aligarh, 1864), pp. 327, 330, 335, 359, etc.

4 *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 102. It was first published in the Patna College Magazine (March 1913), p. 95 and subsequently by Mohammad, *op. cit.*, p. 344. The latter's reading was commented upon by Kuraishī, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47 and plate.

(٦) کرد این بنای خاص نظر خویشگی که هست   در پیروی شرع محمد چو کوه پاے

(۷) مسمار ساخت قلعه مجهولی و بتکده   وز سنگ و چوب بتکده شد این نکو بناے

(۸) کردم سوال سال بنایش ز پیر عقل   گفتا بگو خرامی خیر المقام جاے

سنه ۱۰۳۶

TRANSLATION

(1-2) Allāh is great !

(3) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is His Prophet.

(4) In the period of the light of Jahāngir's eyes (i.e. son), Parvīz Shāh, the just and generous (and endowed) with reason and judgment,

(5) the Kaikhusraw of the Age and the Jamshīd of the kingdom, (who occupies) the throne of the kingdom like the world-conquering Alexander,

(6) this special building was constructed by Naẕar Khwīshgī, who in his compliance of the religious code of (Prophet) Muḥammad, is firm like the mountain.

(7) He demolished the fort of Majhaulī and the temple (there), and out of stone and wood of the temple, was built this auspicious structure.

(8) I asked the old man of Wisdom about the year of its construction. He said, "Say, O Kharāmī, 'this place is the best place'." Year (A.H.) 1036 (1626 A.D.).

The third couplet was wrongly read and translated by Syed Mohammad, who having failed to read the name Naẕar, missed the name of the builder. He also missed the point that Kharām does not form part of the chronogram, but is the pen-name of the composer of the text.[1] We know nothing about Kharāmī, but his above verses do not indicate him to be a poet of much merit.

The builder Naẕar Khwīshgī is a well-known figure. He was born and brought up in the town of Qasur near Lahore, and belonged to the Khwīshgī clan of the Afghāns, which is famous for the nobility and integrity of its members. He was one of the chief attendants of Prince Parvīz and held a rank of 1500 in Jahāngīr's reign. As a reward for his fidelity and integrity, he was appointed governor of Sambhal *sarkār* in the secod year of Shāh Jahān's reign, and after an eventful life of valour and distinguished service, he died at Lahore in A.H. 1062 (1652 A.D.).[2]

Naẕar Khwīshgī was renowned for piety and 'lived like a darvīsh',[3] which shows that the statement in the text about his being a staunch follower of the religion of the Prophet is no empty boast. Like a loyal officer of Parvīz, he mentions his master's name with grandiloquent titles in the inscriptiin of the mosque he had constructed. The phraseology of these titles speaks of Parvīz as Parvīz Shāh, etc., which may strike to some as arrogation of royal titles to himself. But I do not think much significance can be attached to it, in the absence of any other evidence.

But the importance of the inscription lies more in the fact that it furnishes a new piece of information on the career of Naẕar Khwīshgī : his conquest of Majhauli and demolition of the fort. This is all the more important since nothing is known about his earlier career in Bihar. It is only from this inscription that we know of his posting in Bihar. It is a reasonable surmise that Parvīz who did not stay for very long in Bihar of which he was the governor, had appointed him as his deputy. In any case, the present epigraph furnishes the information, not available in contemporary works, that the successful career of Naẕar Khwīshgī had its beginning in Bihar.

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[1] Mohammad, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-45. For Kuraishī's comments, see Kuraishī, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

[2] For the details of his career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 818-21 ; 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh Nāma*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1886), p. 732 ; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1932), p. 89.

[3] Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 821.

It is difficult to identify Majhauli, as there are several places bearing this name in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1013, FROM HILSA

The village Hilsa to which the inscription studied below belongs is a place of considerable antiquity. It contains the Dargāh of Shāh Jamman Madārī,[1] with an inscription dated 1543, which records its repairs by Daryā Khān Nūḥānī in the time of Sher Shāh.[2] Among the modern writers, Buchanan was the first to notice this Dargāh and its inscription, of which he did not give any detail.[3]

The loose tablet bearing the inscription under study originally belonged to a mosque, which must have been, as the purport indicates, the mosque in the Dargāh itself. Buchanan, in his above-mentioned account, refers to a mosque near the Dargāh. The present mosque attached to the Dargāh is a small one built in recent times. But it is quite likely that it stands on the site of the earlier one to which the inscription belonged.

This inscription was first noticed in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, 1902. Buchanan while mentioning the mosque does not refer to any inscription. Perhaps, the tablet had got detached as early as that time (1811-1812). The epigraphical tablet was 'rediscovered' in 1947, jointly by Prof. 'Askarī and the late Mr. Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn Balkhī, who found it lying upside down, in a toddy shop. When I obtained its estampage in 1959, it was still lying in the same place and position. It is now reported to be lying in the house of the Mutawallī of the Dargāh.[4]

The epigraph is engraved neatly in seven lines on a tablet measuring 54 by 74 cm. But the style of writing, which is *Nasta'līq*, is ordinary and of no particular merit. In the first line is an invocation to God by His attributes and a phrase in Arabic purporting that the builder, the composer and the writer of the text were one and the same person. The last line not only works out the chronogram in that its each component letter is inscribed above its numerical value, but it gives the date in figure as well as in words in Arabic and Persian. The record proper comprising five verses in Persian states that in the Dargāh of the saint Shāh Jamman, a mosque was built in A.H. 1013 (1604-05 A.D.), in the time of the king Salīm, son of Akbar, by one Riḍā, who is described in the text as an ardent follower of Murtaḍā (i.e. Ḥaḍrat 'Alī).

The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XII

(۱) یا مالک الملک لبانیه و قایله و کاتبه

(۲) بدرگاه ولی حق جمن شاه که او مرد[ی] ز مردان خدا بود

(۳) بدور شه سلیم اکبر آن شاه که او حامی شرع مصطفی بود

(۴) بنای مسجد[ی] بنهاد مردے که از جان دوستدار مرتضی بود

---

[1] The earliest reference to this Dargāh is contained in the Travel Diary of 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf who passed through Bihar in company of his master, Abu'l-Ḥasan (later on Āṣaf Khān), in 1608, for which see *JBORS*, vol. V (1919), p. 599.

[2] S. H. 'Askarī, 'A Review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghān Period', *Current Studies* (Patna College, Patna), 1954, p. 21, n. 2. A very brief description of this inscription was given by A. Cunningham in *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XI (Calcutta, 1881), p, 64. It was later on published by Mr. R. D. Banerjee in *JBORS*, vol. IV (1918), pp. 186-87.

[3] F. Buchanan, *An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-12*, vol. I (Patna), pp. 228-29.

[4] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 23,

(٥) خرد پرسید کین شخصی که بانیست　　بگو نامش چه تاریخ از کجا بود

(٦) ز غیب آمد ندا[ئ]ی کای خرد مند　　بگو تاریخ و نام او رضا بود

(٧) ر ض ا ب و د　　سنه الف و ثلاثة عشر هزار و سیزده

٢٠٠ ٨٠[٠] ١ ٢ ٦ ۴ .　　١٠١٣

TRANSLATION

(1) O Lord of the kingdom! By its builder, composer and writer.

(2) In the Dargāh of the saint of God, Jamman Shāh who was one of the men of God,

(3) during the reign of Shāh Salīm, (son of) Akbar, that king who was the protector of the *shar*' of Muṣṭafā (the Prophet Muḥammad),

(4) a man, who was a sincere friend of Murtaḍā (i.e. Ḥaḍrat 'Alī), laid the foundation of a mosque.

(5) Wisdom enquired, '(Who is) this man, who is the founder? Tell (me) his name, what is the date and from where was he?'

(6) A voice from the Unknown called out, "O wise man, say that the name (of the builder) and the date (of the building) both (are contained in the phrase,) 'he was Riḍā'."

(7) R-200; Ḍ-800; A-1; B-2; W-6; D-4. Year one thousand and thirteen (A.H.) 1013 (1604-05 A.D.).

This inscription is of considerable historical importance. Jahāngīr's rebellion in the closing years of Akbar's reign and the deflection of some of the officers of the eastern provinces to him is well-known. The present inscription provides definite corroborative evidence of it, so far as Bihar is concerned. It is dated A.H. 1013 (1604-05 A.D.), when Akbar was still alive, but, interestingly enough, it mentions the name of Shāh Salīm (not Jahāngīr, which title was assumed later) and that of Akbar as his father only. It clearly shows that the governor of Bihar[1] had probably gone over to Jahāngīr's side, or at least, had considered it politic to do so, for Jahāngīr was very near, at Allahabad. In any case, he was not an ordinary rebel, but one, whom it was safer to play along with. We can in no other way explain the inscription with this particular wording. Only a governor who had joined hands with Jahāngīr or at least connived at his rebellious activity, could have permitted such an inscription to be set up in public.

We do not have any information about Riḍā, the builder of the mosque. Perhaps, he was some enthusiastic pro-Jahāngīr official of the province. As has been stated above, the inscription was composed and written by him.

Palaeographically too, the inscription is quite interesting. The last line after the versified chronogram mentions the date of construction in three different ways—in numerals and in Arabic and Persian words. It also illustrates the working of the *Abjad* system of reckoning by specifying the letters constituting of the chronogram *Riḍā būd* and giving the numerical value of each letter under it. In this way, even those not familiar with the working of the system can follow it easily. This is a unique feature of this inscription in that no other inscription of Bihar contains this novelty. However, a few inscriptions which follow this method are known in other parts and one such, has been published in a recent issue of this series.[2]

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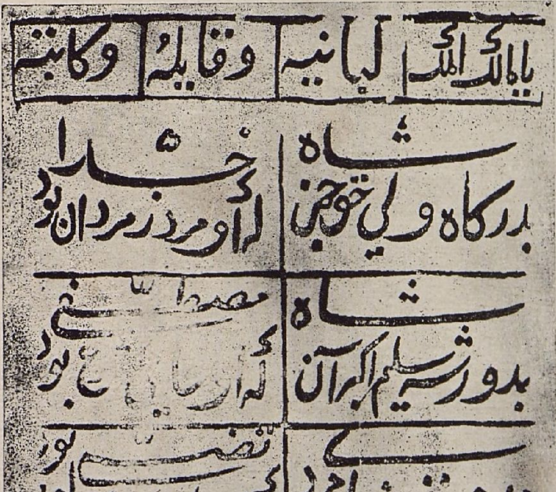
[1] Prince Salīm appointed Sharīf Khān as the governor of Bihar in 1604, but he was displaced in the same year, by Āṣaf Khān, the last governor of Bihar during Akbar's reign (R. R. Diwakar, ed. *Bihar Through the Ages* (1959), p. 491).

[2] *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Parsian Supplement*, 1963, pl. XXIIIc. (Another in which almost similar method is employed is published in this issue, at p. 57.—Ed.)

Inscription of a mosque, A.H. 1013,
from Hilsa (p. 41)



SCALE : ·2

MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PANCHGAWHAN

By S. A. Rahim

I have studied in this article eight inscriptions copied recently by me from Panchgawhan, a village situated at a distance of about 25 kilometres from the *tāluka* headquarters Akot, in the Akola district of Maharashtra.

These inscriptions are extremely interesting. Seven of these were set up to the memory of different members of an important family, who laid down their lives in the service of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Not less interesting is the eighth, which is an unique record of Jahāndār Shāh, son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh I, who had succeeded in the contest for the throne against his brother 'Aẓīmu'sh-Shān on the 17th March 1712, only to be defeated and murdered by the latter's son Farrukh Siyar about a year later.[1]

Despite the fact that these records were first noticed, however briefly, as early as in 1916, by Rāo Bahādur Hirālāl,[2] they have practically remained unknown to students of Mughal history. Hirālāl himself was not satisfied with his notice of these records which was 'based on the copies furnished by Tahsildar of Akot, and may be taken for what they are worth'.[3] Hirālāl's fear is not misplaced. The whole account is full of confusion of dates and facts, as will be pointed out in the respective places. But it is not understood how nobody followed up Hirālāl's notice and attempted to bring out the correct purport of these epigraphs, which furnish quite useful information.

Then, it is surprising that the village Panchgawhan which was associated with these Mughal officials, should find no mention in historical works. The place is now said to consist of thirtysix villages with separate officers, but in earlier days, it was a cluster of five villages, which fact accounted for its name, meaning literally 'five villages'. It was the headquarters of a *pargana* under the Niẓāms of Hyderabad.[4]

Seven of these eight records are carved on the headstones of the graves situated in and outside the four-walled enclosure of the tomb, locally called Dargāh Nīknām Ṣāḥib, to the south of the village. The remaining one appears on the mosque standing to the west of the said Dargāh. The epitaphs are interesting, as they enable us to unravel the history of this now desolate village, which must have been either the place of the residence of the deceased or headquarters of their fief.

Of these seven epitaphs, five belong to one single family of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Nīknām, who and his four sons were in the employ of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. The father and two of the sons were killed in the two battles fought by them in Jahāngīr's army in 1610 and 1616, while the other two brothers died natural death in places of their duty, namely Dharur in Bir district

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[1] Sir Richard Burn, ed. *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. IV (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 325-27.

[2] R.B. Hirālāl, *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the Central Province & Berar* (Nagpur, 1916), pp. 136-37. In the second edition of this book, published in 1932, there is no change, as far as the notice of these epigraphs is concerned.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 136, f.n. 1.

[4] C. Brown, *Central Province and Berar District Gazetteers*, Akola District (Calcutta, 1910), pp. 373-76.

and Mulher in Nasik district. It may be pointed out that these places are quite far off from Panchgawhan, and therefore, the fact that their dead-bodies were brought from there for internment to Panchgawhan, shows their deep attachment to the said village.

The sixth epigraph, set up in the reign of Jahāndār Shāh, records the date of the death of Bulāq Baig, a native of Shāhjahānābād (i.e. Delhi), who is described as the *faujdār*, evidently of the *pargana* or the town of Panchgawhan. As has been referred to above, this is the only epigraph of this emperor known so far. Incidentally, we have an inscription, at Dewas, a district headquarters in Madhya Pradesh, which speaks of his being its *jāgīr*-holder in 1707, during the reign of his father.[1] The seventh epitaph merely contains a Persian hemistich, which comprises the chronogram yielding 1673-74. The eighth inscription records the construction of the mosque on which it appears, by one of the sons of Nīknām Khān, only a few days before his death.

The above brief resume should amply bear out the historical importance of these inscriptions. But their calligraphy is also of a particularly high order, with the exception of that of the epitaph of Bulāq Baig. In other words, the style of writing in the epitaphs and the mosque inscription of the Nīknām family, is extremely pleasing, and must have been designed by a professional scribe.

The graves of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Nīknām and three of his sons, namely, Mīr Shāh Husain, Mīr Farīdūn Ḥusain and Mīr Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusain, entitled Himmat Khān, are situated on one platform, while that of the fourth son, Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain, lies, along with one more, on a smaller platform to the east. The grave with the epitaph which does not mention any name, is also built on another platform to the south-east, while the grave of Bulāq Baig is situated without the enclosure, immediately to the south of the mosque.

The first inscription is the epitaph of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Nīknām. Inscribed on an arch-shaped tablet measuring 46 cm. in width and 1·22 m. from apex to bottom, fixed at the head side of the second of the four graves, from east,[2] it runs into eight lines of writing in Persian, of which the first two comprise a well-known verse of the famous Iranian poet Sa'dī, and the remaining seven purport that the grave is that of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Nīknām 'Alawī, who was killed with his eldest son, kinsmen and servants on Thursday 19th Ṣafar 1019 (3rd May 1610) in the battle which he fought, in the time of emperor (Jahāngīr), against the enemies from Dakhan who had blocked the way of the Muslims (i.e. the Mughal army). The year is indicated by a chronogram. Hirālāl gives the year A.H. 1025,[3] which is perphaps due to the faulty calculation of the chronogram.

The text is inscribed in elegant *Nasta'līq* and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (a)

(۱) الله باقی

(۲) سعدیا مرد نکو نام نمیرد هرگز

(۳) مرده آنست که نامش به نکوئی نبرند

(۴) این لوح مرقد پرفیض میر محمد یوسف نیکنام

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[1] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1964-65, No. D, 73.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. D, 84.

[3] Hirālāl, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

(٥) علویست که در عهد سلطنت جهانگیرے بامخالفان

(٦) دکهن که سد راه مسلمانان شده بودند جنگ و

(٧) جدل نموده با پسر کلان و خویشان و نوکران

(٨) روز پنجشنبه نوزدهم ماه صفر بدرجه شهادت رسیدند

(٩) در سالی که تاریخ آن از قبر یوسف ثانے هویدا میگردد

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Eternal!

(2) O Sa'dī! A person who has acquired good name never dies.

(3) A dead man is one whose name is not remembered with respect.

(4) This tablet is of the bountiful grave of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Nīknām

(5-9) 'Alawī, who in the reign of Jahāngīr fought with the enemies from Dakhan who had blocked the way of the Muslims and attained the status of martyrdom along with his eldest son, relatives and servants, on Thursday, the 19th of the month of Ṣafar, in the year, which is apparent from the words : the grave of the second Joseph.

The year yielded by the chronogram is 1019 (19 Ṣafar 1019=3 May 1610).

This record is quite important. It refers to a battle fought between the forces of Jahāngīr and the Dakhanīs, by whom evidently the army of Malik 'Ambar is intended. The latter had proved a formidable foe in Deccan and gave a trying time to the Mughal army. While this major engagement between Malik 'Ambar and the imperial forces is not wholly ignored in contemporary works, no details thereof are available.[1] The record under study supplies few details on the personal side, but unfortunately, it omits to record the name of the place where Mīr Yūsuf laid down his life. It is quite likely that the site was somewhere in Berar. The Dakhanī enemies of the text appear to have been one of the Marāṭha predatory bands which were used in his guerrilla warfare by Malik 'Ambar. One such band seems to have blocked the way of the contingent, of which Mīr Yūsuf Nīknām and his kinsmen and servants were members.

It is surprising that no mention of this official is available in chronicles, except as being the father of Mīr Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusain, entitled Himmat Khān and Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain. Incidentally, Mīr Yūsuf Nīknām is now venerated as a saint.[2]

The second epitaph belongs to the eastern-most grave on the same platform.[3] It records that Mīr Shāh Ḥusain, son of Mīr Yūsuf Nīknām, was killed along with his father in A.H. 1019 (1610 A.D.). The year is afforded by a chronogram. Hirālāl's statement that he predeceased his father (whose death, as we have just seen, he places in A.H. 1025) and that his tomb (i.e. epitaph) is 'silent about his merits which were perphaps non-existent', are ill-conceived. The epitaph clearly states that Mīr Shāh Ḥusain suffered martyrdom in the company of his father.

[1] For a concise account of the Deccan campaign in 1610, see Burn, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60.

[2] Hirālāl, *op. cit.*, p. 137 and Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

[3] *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 83.

The present record is the only source mentioning Mīr Shāh Ḥusain, and as such, its importance cannot be overstressed.

The arch-shaped tablet, on which its text of seven lines is inscribed in beautiful *Nasta'līq* characters, measures 46 by 96 cm.

The text is deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (b)

(۱) الله باقے

(۲) اگر صد سال باشی ور یکے روز

(۳) بباید رفت ازین کاخ دل افروز

(۴) این لوح قبر میر شاه حسین ولد میر یوسف

(۵) نیکنام است که برفاقت پدر بزرگوار خود

(۶) از دست ساقے رضوان جرعه شهادت نوشیدند

(۷) در سالی که تاریخ آن از لفظ شهد شهادت واضح میشود

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Eternal !

(2) Whether one lives for a hundred years or for a day,

(3) he has to depart from this heart-illuminating place (i.e. world).

(4) This tablet indicates the grave of Mīr Shāh Ḥusain, son of Mīr Yūsuf

(5) Nīknām, who, in the company of his respected father,

(6) drank the draught of martyrdom at the hands of the cup-bearer, (viz.) the keeper of Paradise,

(7) in the year which is evident from the words : the honey of martyrdom.

The numerical value of the letters of the last phrase add up to yield the date A.H. 1019 (1610 A.D.). Therefore, the date A.H. 1025 given by Hirālāl for Mīr Yūsuf's martyrdom is shown to be incorrect by this record too.

The arch-shaped tablet bearing the third epitaph is fixed at the headside of the third grave from east, on the same platform.[1] It measures 47 cm. by 1.02 m. The epitaph consists of eight lines and states that Mīr Farīdūn Ḥusain, son of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Nīknām, attained martyrdom, having fallen in the battle of Khirki against the marauders of Dakhan on the 25th Muḥarram 1025 (3rd February 1616). According to the text, the Mīr was a *ḥāfiẓ* of the *Qur'ān*, that is to say, he had learnt it by heart. Hirālāl's statement that Mīr Farīdūn Ḥusain was killed less than a month before his father,[2] is wrong.

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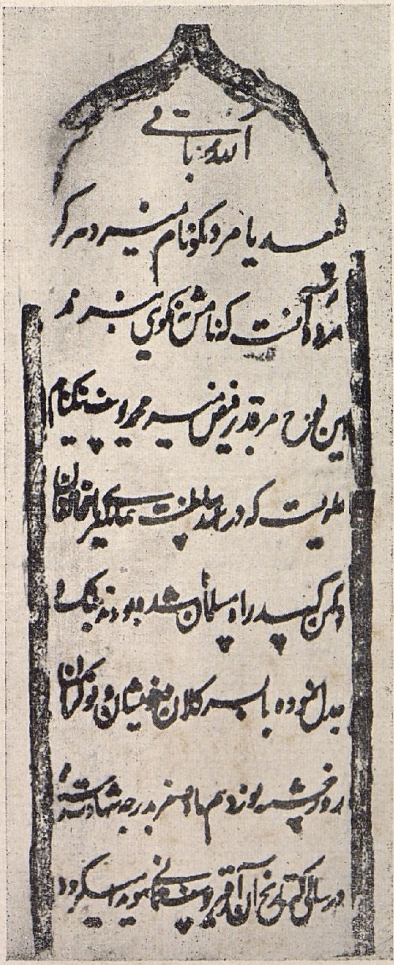
[1] *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 85.

[2] Hirālāl, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

EPITAPHS FROM PANCHGAWHAN

(PLATES XIII—XVI)

(*a*) Epitaph of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Nīknām (p. 44)



SCALE : 125

(*b*) Epitaph of Mīr Shāh Ḥusain, A.H. 1019 (p. 46)

SCALE : ·16

This inscription is also very important. The battle of Khirki mentioned in the text is one of the many battles fought between the Mughal army and that of Malik 'Ambar. But it should not be confused with the capture of Khirki and its devastation by Shāh Jahān later on in 1621.

As a matter of fact, Jahāngīr, while describing the events of the Deccan at the time of our record, states that on the 26th Bahman of his 10th regnal year, the imperial forces having defeated 'Ambar, set out for Khirki, occupied it for some days and demolished its buildings before marching back to Rohinkhed.[1] It is to be noted that Jahāngīr does not give any satisfactory reason for this withdrawal, except that 'giving details thereof would be unnecssary'.[2] Incidentally, Mullā 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nihāwandī has described these battles in detail in his *Ma'āthīr*, devoted to the life and achievements of Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān Khān-i-Khānān, but his account is not to be accepted without reserve.[3]

This battle of Khirki in which Mīr Farīdūn Ḥusain was killed, evidently took place on the 25th Muḥarram 1025 which works out to 1st Isfandārmuz, since 1st Muḥarram was 7th Bahman.[4] The Mughal army which as stated above, had set out for Khirki, from a nearby place, on the 26th Bahman, i.e. on the 20th Muḥarram, must have reached there within a couple of days to occupy it. The battle, according to our epigraph, took place on the 25th Muḥarram, i.e. 1st Isfandārmuz,[5] which can be reasonably interpreted to mean that on or before that date, Malik 'Ambar's army had carried out a sudden attack on the Mughal army, which was ultimately, if not at that very moment, compelled to retreat upto Rohinkhed. Otherwise, there was no reason for the victorious Mughal army to march back to Rohinkhed. It is but natural that Jahāngīr did not want to mention this unsavoury affair.[6]

It is not known what position in the Mughal army, Mīr Farīdūn Ḥusain held at the time of his death. But it is likely that he may have been a man of rank. None of the historical works at my disposal seems to mention him. The inscription states that he knew the *Qur'ān* by heart, a considerable achievement in itself.

The text is inscribed in *Nasta'līq*, which is, as in the case of the previous epigraphs, of a very high order. It has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIV (a)

(۱) الله باقی

(۲) هر که آمد در جهان پر ز شور

(۳) عاقبت می بایدش رفتن بگور

(۴) این لوح قبر میر فریدون حسین ولد میر محمد یوسف

---

[1] In Buldana district of Maharashtra State ?

[2] Jahāngīr, *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad (Aligarh, 1864), p. 154.

[3] 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1925), pp. 521-31.

[4] R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore* (Oxford, 1914), p. 435.

[5] Incidentally, 'Abdu'l Bāqī *op.cit.*, pp. 522-25, also mentions a heavy battle having taken place on this day, between 'Ambar himself and Mughal army between Khirki and Samawātī(?). But according to him the Mughals, after initial reverses, were victorious.

[6] The above three paragraphs are by the Editor.

(۵) نیکنام است که حافظ قرآن مجید بود و در حرب

(۶) کهرکی که دولتخواهان جهانگیری را باغنیم دکهن واقع شده

(۷) بود بدرجه شهادت فایز گشت در سالے که از جگر

(۸) شگاف شگاف تاریخ آن می‌برآید بتاریخ ۲۵ محرم سنه ۱۰۲۵

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Eternal!

(2) He who is born in this bustling world,

(3) has perforce, in the end, to go to the grave.

(4-5) This tablet belongs to the grave of Mīr Farīdūn Ḥusain, son of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Nīknām, who was a *ḥāfiẓ* (i.e. had learnt the *Qur'ān* by heart) and had, in the battle

(6) of Khirkī, which took place between the forces (lit. well-wishers) of Jahāngīr and themarauders of Dakhan (i.e. Malik 'Ambar's forces),

(7) attained martyrdom in the year which from (the phrase) 'the liver

(8) is full of holes', is obtained (i.e. A.H. 1025), on the 25th Muḥarram (25 Muḥarram 1025=3 February 1616).

The fourth epitaph is inscribed on the head-stone of the fourth grave from right on the same platform.[1] Written in *Nasta'līq* characters of a high order, its text runs into ten lines of Persian prose and verse and states that the grave is that of Mīr Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusain, entitled Ḥimmat Khān, son of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Nīknām. It further describes him as being very brave andgenerous and states that he expired on Thursday, 15th Ṣafar 1047 (29th June 1637), in the fort of Fathabad *alias* Kaij-Dharur, of which he was in charge, in the reign of Shāh Jahān.[2]

The text occupies a space of 47 cm. by 1.13 m. and has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIV (b)

(۱) الله باقے

(۲) برگ عیشی بگور خویش فرست

(۳) کس نیارد ز پس تو پیش فرست

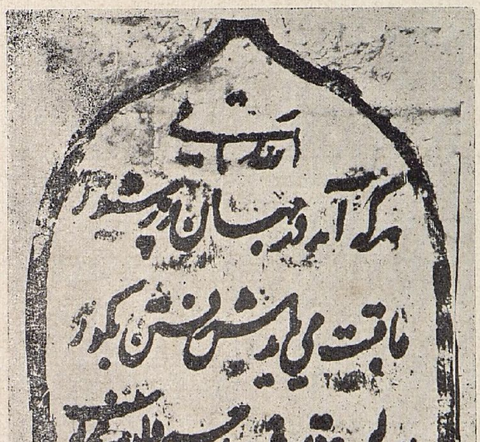
(۴) این لوح قبر مغفرت پناه میر شرف

---

[1] *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 86.

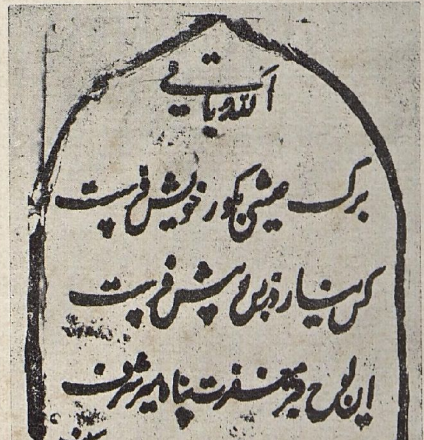
[2] Hirālāl, *op. cit.*, gives 22nd of Ṣafar and spells Kaij-Dhārūr as Kanjdhāro.

(*a*) Epitaph of Mīr Farīdūn Ḥusain Niknām, from Panchgawhan (p. 47)



Scale : ·15

(*b*) Epitaph of Mīr Sharau'd-Dīn Ḥusain same place (p. 48)



Scale : ·13

(٥) الدین حسین مخاطب بهمت خان ولد میر محمد یوسف

(٦) نیکنام است که اشجع و سخی زمان خود بودند وفات

(٧) ایشان در قلعه فتح آباد عرف کیج دهارور که در ایام

(٨) خلافت شاه جهان بادشاه غازے ایالت قلعه مذکور بخان

(٩) مرحوم مقرر بود واقع شد در سالی که تاریخ آن

(١٠) ازجهان مردانه رفت لایح میشود بتاریخ ١٥ شهر صفر روز پنجشنبه سنه ١٠٤٧

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Eternal!

(2) Send the provision of life (i.e. good deeds) to your own grave.

(3) Nobody will bring it afterwards. (Therefore), you send it yourself in advance.

(4-10) This tablet belongs to the grave of the pardoned Mīr Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusain, entitled Himmat Khān, son of Mīr Muḥammed Yūsuf Nīknām, who was the most brave and generous person of his time. His death took place in the fort of Fatḥābād *alias* Kaij-Dhārūr which, in the time of the caliphate of Shāh Jahān, was in the charge of the late Khān, in the year, of which the date is evident from (the phrase) 'he passed away from the world like a man', on the 15th of the month of Ṣafar, Thursday, year (A.H.) 1047 (15 Ṣafar 1047=29 June 1637).

The deceased Mīr Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusain, entitled Himmat Khān, appears to have been the most prominent member of the Nīknām family. He is one of the two brothers who find mention in historical works which, however, do not furnish much details of his life. According to these, he was among the officers of the right wing in the army of Āṣaf Khān which fought Shahryār in 1627, gave a good account of himself in the battle and was suitably rewarded, received the title of Himmat Khān in the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, on the 1st Shawwāl 1037 (25th May 1628) to be exact,[1] and expired in the tenth regnal year.[2] Our epigraph not only corroborates the year of death, but also specifies the day and the month as well.

Another important piece of information afforded by the epitaph is that Himmat Khān was the *qal'adār* of Dharur, at the time of his death. Historical works mention the conquest of Dharur fort by A'ẓam Khān in January 1631,[3] but nowhere it is recorded when Himmat Khān was appointed to its charge. The custody of this important fort should indicate his official status. The fort was entrusted to the charge of Nūr Muḥammad 'Arab who also received the title of 'Arab Khān,[4] about a month and a half after the death of Himmat Khān.

A note on Kaij-Dharur, the *alias* of Fathabad may not be out of place here : Kaij is situated at a distance of about twelve kilometres on the Dharur-Kallam road. Dharur was then called Kaij-Dharur to distinguish it from another place with the same name, viz. Dharur in the Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh.

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[1] Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1923), pp. 210, 291; 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh Nāma*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1867), part i, pp. 73, 184, 201, 451.

[2] 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *op. cit.*, part ii, p. 304.

[3] *Ibid.*, part i, pp. 339-43.

[4] *Ibid.*, part ii, p. 278.

The next record to be studied here, relates to the mosque built by Himmat Khān. Its tablet is built up into the base of the right minaret of the stone mosque, a building of sufficient architectural interest, which is situated to the immediate west of the Dargāh of Nīknām Ṣāḥib.[1] Measuring 46 by 60 cm., it contains a text of two Persian verses inscribed in four lines purporting that the mosque was constructed by Himmat Khān in A.H. 1047 (1637 A.D.), during the reign of Shāh Jahān. This means that the mosque must have been constructed before 29th June 1637, the day on which Himmat Khān died.

The style of writing is excellent *Nasta'līq*, and the text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XV (a)

(۱) در عهد شهنشاه زمان شاهجهان

(۲) بنیاد نهاد مسجدی همت خان

(۳) تاریخ بنای آن بجستم ز خرد

(۴) گفتا که بگو بقعه، خیر آبادان

سنه ۱۰۴۷

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the emperor of the time, Shāh Jahān,

(2) Himmat Khān laid the foundation of a mosque.

(3) I sought the date of its construction from Wisdom.

(4) It replied, 'Say, (it is a) populated good place'. Year (A.H.) 1047 (1637 A.D.).

The sixth inscription of the present study is again an epitaph. The grave to which it belongs lies on another platform, which is to the right of the big platform containing four graves.[2] The arch-shaped inscriptional tablet, measuring 43 by 88 cm., contains twelve lines of Persian prose and verse, executed in *Nasta'līq* characters of the same elegance as in the case of the previous records. The last line of the text is unfortunately very badly damaged, due to the weathering of the stone. As a result, the year of death, which was contained in the chronogram as well as given in figure is lost.

The epitaph purports that the grave is that of Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Nīknām, son of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Nīknām 'Alawī al-Ḥusainī, who expired during his tenure as *qal'adār* of Mulher and *faujdār* of Baglana, which was conferred upon him in the reign of Shāh Jahān. It will be noted that in this epitaph, the cognomen Nīknām is also used with the name of the deceased, which indicates that the sobriquet was intended as a family name.

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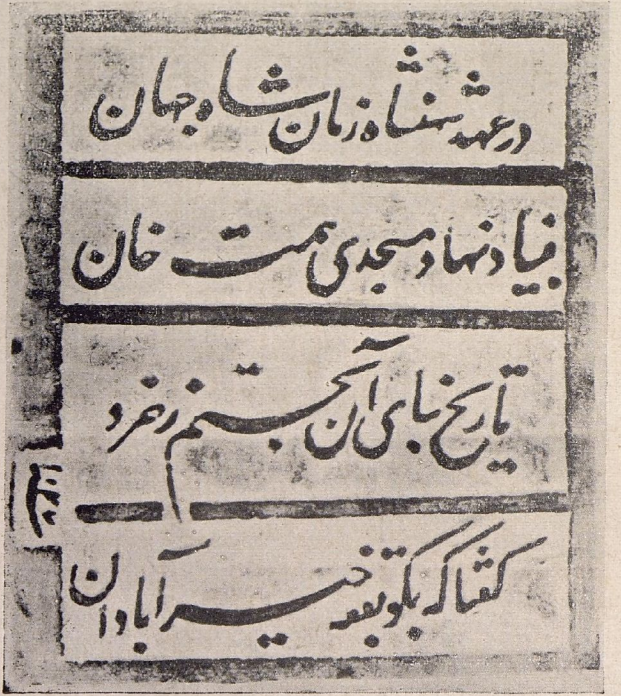
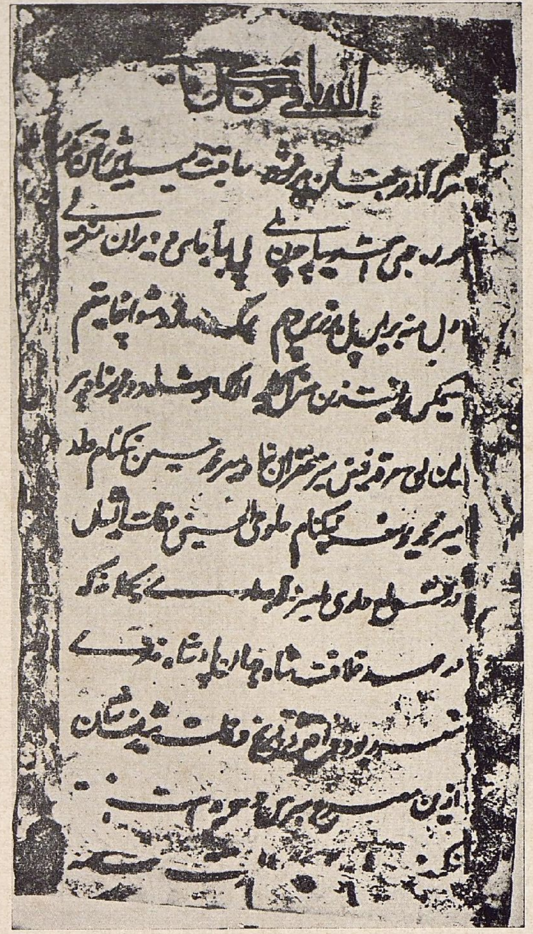
[1] *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 90.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. D, 87.



(*a*) Inscription, dated A.H. 1017, from Panchgawhan (p. 50)

SCALE : ·15



(*b*) Epitaph of Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Niknām, same place (p. 51)

SCALE : ·18

The epitaph is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate XV (b)

(١) الله باقے من کل فانے

(٢) هر که آمد در جهان پر ز شور   عاقبت میبایدش رفتن بگور

(٣) در ره عقبی است دنیا چون پلے   بی بقا جائی و ویران منزلے

(۴) دل منه بر این پل پر ترس و بیم   برگ ره ساز و مشو اینجا مقیم

(٥) هیچکس را نیست زین منزل گذیر   از گدا و شاه و[1] وز برنا و پیر

(٦) این لوح مرقد فیض منیر غفران پناه میر محمد حسین نیکنام واد

(۷) میر محمد یوسف نیکنام علوی الحسینی وفات ایشان

(٨) در قلع داری ملهیر و فو جدارے بگلانه که

(٩) در عهد خلافت شاه جهان پادشاه غازے

(١٠) مقرر بود واقع شد تاریخ وفات شریف شان

(١١) ازین مصرع مبرهن و هویداست..............................

(١٢) نیکنا[ام] .... زین ؟ عالم رفت سنه ......

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Eternal, all else is perishable !

(2) He who is born in this bustling world, has perforce to go to the grave in the end.

(3) This world is like a bridge on the road to the next world ; it is a transitory place and a desolate stage.

(4) Do not attach your heart to this bridge, full of dread and fear ; prepare provision for the journey and do not make a sojourn here.

(5) No one can escape this stage (i.e. death), whether he be a pauper or king, young or old.

(6) This tablet (is) that of the grave, illuminated with bounty, of the pardoned Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Nīknām, son of

(7) Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Nīknām 'Alawī al-Ḥusainī His death

[1] One *wāv* is redundant here.

(8) took place in the time of (his) *qal'adārī* of Mulher and *faujdārī* of Baglāna which

(9) in the time of the caliphate of Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī,

(10) were assigned to him. The date of his noble death

(11) is evident and clear from this hemistich,

(12) 'Nīknām.....................left this world'. Year............

From the above, it is perfectly clear that Hirālāl's statement that Mīr Muḥammad who was a *faujdār* and a *qal'adār* fell in A.H. 1025 along with his father in a battle, is wrong.[1]

Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Nīknām initially held the rank of 1000 men, 1000 horse.[2] A month and a half after the death of his brother Himmat Khān, he was appointed to the command of the fort of Ẓafarnagar.[3] In the following year, he was granted an increase in rank and created an officer of the rank of 1500 men, 1500 horse. It was on the 26th Dhi'l-Qa'da 1056 (24th December 1646), that with a further increase in rank, he was appointed as the governor of Baglana.[4] 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd has not referred to the charge of Mulher fort being given to Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain. But our epigraph calls him the *faujdār* of Baglāna as well as *qal'adār* of Mulher. This shows that the *faujdār* of Baglana was also supposed to hold the charge of the Mulher fort, which was the headquarters of the region.

Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain, like his brother Himmat Khān, died while in service at the place of his duty. His dead body was brought to Panchgawhan to be interred near the graves of his father and brothers. As stated above, the year of his death cannot be ascertained from the epitaph, but he must have died some time after his assignment to Baglana, in December 1646.

The seventh epigraph, also an epitaph, is engraved on the arch-shaped tablet fixed at the head-side of the grave situated on a platform in the south-east side in the same Dargāh.[5] It is diffcult to ascertain the name of the occupant of this grave, as the epitaph does not quote any. According to Hirālāl, another epitaph at the same place records the death of one 'Ābida Bībī of the Nīknām family, of which the date was not clear.[6] I did not find any such epitaph there. And even if there existed one, 'Ābida would most probably not be her name, but the phrase qualifying for a devout lady, not uncommonly used in epigraphs. In any case, there is little room for doubt that the grave belongs to a member of the Nīknām family, as is clear from its situation as well as the style of writing of our epitaph.

The tablet on which the epitaph is carved is of almost the same size as in above, but the engraved text occupies a space of 33 by 30 cm. only. It consists of two lines, the first being a well known formulae about the everlastingness of Allāh and the second, a hemistich in Persian, which may be translated as 'and he (or she) was given place in the highest Paradise'. This hemistich, in all probability, forms a chronogram for the date of the death of the occupant of the grave. This would be A.H. 1084 (1673-74 A.D.).

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1 Hirālāl, *op. cit.*

2 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *op. cit.*, part ii, p. 307.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 278.

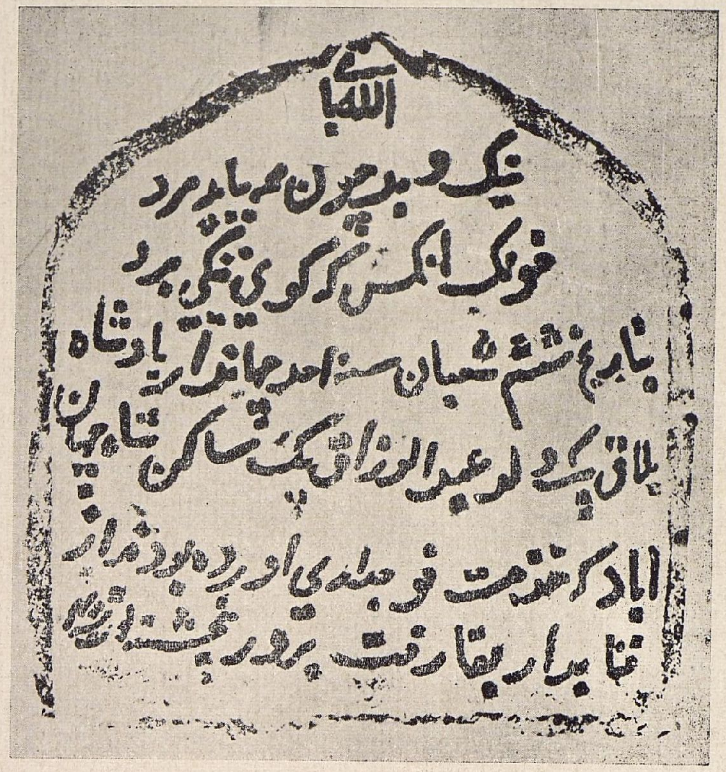
4 *Ibid.*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 112, 624. Baglana was conquered about a decade earlier by Aurangzeb who appointed Muḥammad Ṭāhir to the charge of the Mulher fort. The territory of Baglana was bounded on the north by Nandurbar and Sultanpur, on the south by Nasik, on the west by Surat and on the east by Chandor (*ibid.*, pp. 105-09).

5 *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 88.

6 Hirālāl, *op. cit.*

(*a*) Undated epitaph, from Panchgawhan (p. 53)

SCALE : ·36



(*b*) Epitaph, dated in the reign of Jahāndār Shāh, same place (p. 53)

SCALE : ·25

The style of writing is *Thulth* and fine *Nasta'līq*. The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

(۱) الله باقی و الکل فانے

(۲) جای وی در جنت الماوی شده

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Eternal, and everything else is perishable !

(2) The highest Paradise has become his (or her) abode. (A.H. 1084=1673-74 A.D.).

The eighth inscription from Panchgawhan, with which I conclude the present study, is the unique record of the Mughal emperor Jahāndār Shāh, referred to above in the introductory lines. It forms the epitaph of Bulāq Baig, whose grave is situated to the south of the Dargāh of Nīknām Ṣāḥib.[1] It consists of seven lines written in Persian prose and verse inscribed in quite ordinary *Nasta'līq*, which is in sharp contrast to the elegant style of the previous records. It states that the *faujdār* Bulāq Baig, a resident of Shāhjahānābād, i.e. Delhi, expired on Thursday, 6th Sha'bān of the first regnal year of Jahāndār Shāh, i.e. 1124 (28th August, 1712). The place of which Bulāq Baig was the *faujdār* is not specified in the text. It was either the village Panchgawhan or the *pargana* in which it lay. It stands to reason to suppose that he was in charge of the *pargana*. This is also corroborated by a piece of information recorded in the district gazetteer on the basis of old papers, that Mīrzā Bulakhibeg, the *māmlatdar*, built the Jāmi' mosque of Dahihanda in the same *taluka*.[2] Evidently, Bulakhibeg of the gazetteer is none other than Bulāq Baig.

This epitaph was also noticed by Hirālāl, according to whom, Bulāq Baig (whom he writes as Bulāg—perhaps a misprint) was appointed *faujdār* in the reign of Jahāndār Shāh.[3] This is incorrect, at least in so far as the epigraph does not categorically say so. It simply refers to his being a *faujdār*, and he could as well have held the post from the time of the preceding ruler or rulers. Hirālāl was also unable to give the date.

The inscriptional tablet is square in shape, measuring 44 cm. a side, and the text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

(۱) الله باقے

(۲) نیک و بد چون همه بباید مرد

(۳) خونک آنکس که گوی نیکی برد

(۴) بتاریخ ششم شعبان سنه احد جهاندار بادشاه

[1] *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 89.

[2] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 333. The mosque does not contain any inscription.

[3] Hirālāl, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

(٥) بلاق بیگ ولد عبد الرزاق بیگ ساکن شاه جهان

(٦) آباد که خدمت فوجداری آورده بودند از

(٧) فنا بدار بقا رفت بروز پنجشنبه بوقت سه پهر

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Eternal !

(2) Since good and bad all have to die,

(3) happy is one who carries the ball of goodness !

(4) On the sixth of Sha'bān, year one of Jahāndār Bādshāh (6 Sha'bān 1124=28 August 1712),

(5) Bulāq Baig, son of 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Baig, inhabitant of Shāh Jahān-

(6) ābād (i.e. Delhi), who had come (here) as *faujdār*, departed

(7) from the transitory (abode) to the permanent home, on Thursday, at three *pahar*.

It will be seen that the execution of the epigraph is quite poor. Also, the word *dār* is left out after *az* in the last but one line.

The importance of this record has been already pointed out above. Here we may just mention that the date removes the confusion in the dates of the reign of Jahāndār Shāh. According to Khāfī Khān, Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur I died in the beginning of A.H. 1123,[1] which cannot be correct. Our epigraph corroborates the year A.H. 1124 given by other historians, in that, 6th Sha'bān of A.H. 1124 and not A.H. 1123 was Thursday, and hence Sha'bān of the 1st regnal year must have belonged to A.H. 1124 only.

[1] Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1874), pp. 683-84.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SIDI CHIEFS OF JANJIRA

By A. A. Kadiri

The fortified island of Janjira, first capital of the erstwhile state of the same name, is situated in the Kolaba district of Maharashtra, at a distance of about sixtyfive kilometres due south of Bombay. The island fort which lies just within the entrance of the Danda-Rajpuri creek about 800 metres from the mainland, in the region called north Konkan on the western coast, is remarkable indeed for the engineering skill of its master-builders.[1] Its location made it the most impregnable fort of the region. More than anything else, it enabled the small but powerful principality of the Sīdīs, who held sway in this region from the close of the fifteenth century onwards, to resist successfully the attempts of the Marāṭha rulers including Shivāji to annex it.

It was Malik Aḥmad, the founder of the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom of Ahmadnagar, who reduced the fort of Danda-Rajpuri after a long siege of ten months in 1489 and put Janjira, then only fortified by a wooden *koṭ*, in charge of a Sīdī named Yāqūt Khān.[2] On the fall of Ahmadnagar in 1600, the Niẓām Shāhī possessions in Konkan passed to the Mughals, and though soon afterwards Malik 'Ambar recovered most of them, this part still seems to have continued under Mughal authority at least until 1618, according to local records, which mention Allāh (?) Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān as governors of Danda-Rajpuri in 1612 and 1618 respectively.[3] In the last mentioned year, Malik 'Ambar is said to have appointed one Sīdī Surūr, as the governor. The latter was succeeded in 1620, by Sīdī Yāqūt, and he, in the following year, by Sīdī 'Ambar Sānak.[4] However, according to Mr. B. K. Bhonsle, author of a Marathi history of Janjira State, who claims to have based his account on local records, Sīdī 'Ambar was appointed governor in 1617 by, and received the *pargana* between Bankot and Nagothna, from Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh II.[5] But it is worthwhile to note that Murtaḍā II was not alive at that time.

According to a captain of the East India Company who visited Danda-Rajpuri in February 1628, there was dissension there, on account of Ḥabash Khān's appointment as a new governor by Malik 'Ambar.[6] In the following month, Captain Altham visited Danda-Rajpuri and found that Sīdī 'Ambar was besieged in the Janjira fort by Ḥabash Khān.[7] But Sīdī 'Ambar seems to have maintained his ground, for in 1636, when the Niẓām Shāhī Konkan was transferred to 'Ādil Shāh, Sīdī 'Ambar was confirmed in his post.[8] He was required to maintain a marine for trade and conveying pilgrims to Mecca.[9] He is also stated to have received the title of *vazier*.[10] Sīdī

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[1] For a detailed description of the fort and the history of the Sīdī rulers, see *Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency* (*BG*), vol. XI, Kolaba and Janjira (Bombay, 1883), pp. 430-40; *Maharashtra State Gazetteers* (*MSG*), Kolaba District (Bombay, 1964), pp. 77-94, 103-05, 808-10 ; etc.

[2] Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, vol. II (Kanpur, 1884), p. 96; *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 78; B. K. Bhonsle, *Janjiryā-chā-Itihāsa* (Baroda, 1901), p. 21.

[3] *BG*, vol. XI, p. 435; *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 80 (& f.n.4).

[4] *Ibid.* In these works, the name Surūr is wrongly spelt as Sirul and Surul respectively.

[5] Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, but on p. 28, he gives the year 1621.

[6] D. R. Bānāji, *Bombay and the Sidis* (Bombay, 1932), pp. 1-2. But since Malik 'Ambar had died in 1626, the new governor was perhaps appointed by his son Fatḥ Khān.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Zubairī, *Basātīnu's-Salāṭīn* (Hyderabad edition), p. 303.

[9] Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, vol. 1 (Calcutta, 1918), p. 112.

[10] Jadu Nath Sarkār, *Shivaji* (Calcutta, 1961), p. 255.

'Ambar died in 1642[1] and was succeeded by Sīdī Yūsuf, who was overthrown in 1648 by his son Sīdī Fatḥ Khān.[2] The latter who is, incidentally, stated to be an Afghān by Khāfī Khān and following him, by Shāh Nawāz Khān,[3] continued to be in charge of Janjira till 1670 when, being pressed by Shivāji, who had taken Danda-Rajpuri and had besieged Janjira, he was ready to hand over the fort to the Marāṭhās. But the Sīdī chiefs, Sumbul and the two brothers, Yāqūt and Khairiyat, imprisoned him and so heroically defended Janjīra that the Marāṭhās were compelled to raise the siege. After Danda-Rajpuri was wrested from the latter, the two brothers elected Sumbul as their chief.[4]

It is from about this time that we start getting inscriptions of the Sīdīs at Janjira, Danda-Rajpuri and Khokri.

The sixteen inscriptions studied in the following lines range in their dates between 1676 and 1727-28 and belong to the first three Sīdī admirals of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb and the first independent chief, Sīdī Surūr *alias* Yāqūt Khān II. They are important records: they provide first hand information about these chiefs, particularly, about the dates in their career and about the members of their family and, also throw light, as will be pointed out in the following lines, on the events which have not been correctly recorded in contemporary chronicles.

Sidi Sumbul

Sīdī Sumbul first emerges as a chief of considerable importance, from the beginning of the Marāṭhā-Sīdī clash over Janjira in 1659. He refused to cede Janjira fort to Shivāji, consequent to the treaty of Purandhar in 1665, concluded between Rāja Jai Singh and Shivāji, without express orders from the emperor.[5] He fought on the side of the Mughals in the siege of Bijapur in 1666.[6] He was, as we have seen above, one of the three chiefs who prevented Sīdī Fatḥ Khān from surrendering Janjira to Shivāji in 1670 and sought help from the Bijapur king and the Mughal governor of Deccan. The latter conferred on him a rank of 400 men, 200 horse, and a fief near Surat. He was appointed admiral of the Mughal fleet in 1671.[7]

Sumbul constantly engaged the Marāṭhās and in October 1672, he came to Danda-Rajpuri from Surat to assist the garrison at Janjira. He burnt and plundered all of Shivāji's sea-forts, destroying about 500 of his vessels. This diversion from sea caused the Marāṭhā siege of Janjira to be abandoned. In December of the same year, he anchored at Bombay and finally left for Surat in 1672.[8]

In October 1673, Sumbul again entered Bombay harbour and laid waste the country around Pen and Nagothna, capturing many Marāṭhā trading vessels and ships of war.[9] On his return to Surat in December, he got involved in a quarrel with the governor of Surat over the expenses incurred by him.[10]

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[1] *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 81.

[2] Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 35. But according to *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 81, he ruled till 1655.

[3] Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1874), p. 223; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), p. 497. For Fatḥ Khān's being a Sīdī, see Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 262, footnote.

[4] *Ibid.*; Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

[5] Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 39.

[6] Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

[7] Khāfī Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 496; Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 202; Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 262. According to Banāji, *op. cit.*, p. 15, the Sīdīs were made Mughal admirals as early as in 1660.

[8] Bānāji, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

[9] Sārkār, *op. cit.*, p. 266; Bānāji, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[10] Bānāji, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

In March of the next year, he attacked Shivāji's admiral Daulat Khān in the Sātavli river, in Ratnagiri district, but suffered defeat.[1] In April, he landed at Mazgaon much against the wish of the English, and left for Surat in September.[2] His cruise of the Marāṭhā coast in January-February 1675, did not meet with any success, but towards the end of that year, when Shivāji besieged Janjira, Sumbul sailed down the coast to Vengurla, plundered and burnt that town and having come to Janjira, forced Shivāji once again to raise the siege.[3] The Surat Factory records tend to indicate that some time before the 8th October 1675, Sumbul was superseded by Sīdī Qāsim Yāqūt Khān as the Mughal admiral,[4] probably as a result of his quarrel with the governor of Surat mentioned above. But Sumbul did not hand over charge and postponed the transfer of the fleet on one pretext or the other, till April 1676, when both Qāsim and Sumbul came to Bombay.[5]

By this time, Sumbul's influence was decidedly on the wane, and he left Bombay for Janjira on the 8th April, 1676,[6] probably to take his family to Surat. It was on his reaching Janjira that he was murdered, as we shall presently see.

I. EPITAPH OF SĪDĪ SUMBUL, FROM JANJIRA

The first of these inscriptions is engraved in relief in *Thulth* characters on the headstone of one of the graves on a platform, near the Jāmi'-Masjid in the Janjira fort.[7] The arch-shaped tablet measures 40 cm. in width and 50 cm. in height and contains five lines in Arabic, which register the death of Sīdī Sumbul, son of Raiḥān. He is stated to have died the death of a martyr on Thursday, 9th Ṣafar 1087 (13th April 1766). The date is given both in words and by way of chronogram; the numerical value of the two words forming the chronogram are also written below.

The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVII (a)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) شهد[8] سیدی سنبل ریحان یوم الخمیس تسع

(٣) فی شهر صفر سنه الف و سبع و ثمانین بعد الهجرة

(٤) النبوية على صاحبها افضل الصلاة و السلام

(٥) فجاء تاریخه دخل جنة

٦٣٤ ٤٥٣

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[1] Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[2] Bānāji, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[3] Sarkār, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-68.

[4] Pārasnis & others, *English Records on Shivaji*, part II (Poona, 1931), p. 72.

[5] Bānāji, *op. cit.*, p. 23, avers that it was due to Sumbul's embezzlement of the money belonging to the community.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[7] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1959-60, No. D, 140.

[8] This should be either اشهد or استشهد.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Sīdī Sumbul, (son of) Raiḥān, attained martyrdom on Thursday, 9th

(3) of the month of Ṣafar, (in the) year one thousand and seven and eighty after the Migration

(4) of the Prophet, may the best of salutations and peace be upon him ! (9 Ṣafar 1087=13April 1676).

(5) And its date has come to be (contained in the phrase) 'He entered (634) paradise (453)'.

The year A.H. 1087 is obtained, as stated above, by adding 634 and 453.

There is no reason to doubt that Sīdī Sumbul of the above record is other than the first Mughal admiral of Janjira. The date of his death is in keeping with the known dates of his career. Particularly, the last date in his career we know is 8th April 1676, on which he left Bombay for Janjira to fetch his family. Nothing definite is known about him after this date. It is, therefore, almost certain that he was put to death on his arrival at Janjira. Moreover, the other graves on the same platform are those of the wife and children of Sumbul's successor Yāqūt Khān I. This also points to the fact that the grave in question is that of this Sumbul, particularly when we remember that none but the members of the family of the Sīdī chiefs Yāqūt Khān I and Yāqūt Khān II is found buried inside the fort.[1] All these facts prove that Sumbul of the present epitaph is none other than the famous Mughal admiral.

This record is thus an important document, as it helps us to dispel the mist of confusion about Sumbul, partly created by English records. Firstly, the text has preserved the correct name of this chief, which is variously spelt as Sombolee, Sambhole, Sumbhol, Sumbhul and Sambal in English and Marathi writings.

Secondly, it furnishes the exact date of his death, and thereby, the year of the taking over by his successor, which is generally believed to be 1677. Thirdly, it proves as totally baseless, the generally accepted fact that not only Sumbul lived after 1676, but he went over to the Marāṭhās in 1677 and worked as commander of their fleet until 1682.[2] Incidentally, the fact that Sumbul was already succeeded by Qāsim to the command of the Mughal fleet before June 1676, is clearly proved by a letter from Surat to Bombay.[3] Fourthly, we get only from this epigraph, the name of his father, which none of the chroniclers seems to have recorded. Then, the statement of Duff and Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār that from 1670 onwards, the general title of Yāqūt Khān was conferred on successive Sīdī admirals[4] is negativated by our record, which does not use this title. The very fact that Sīdī Surūr who succeeded Qāsim Yāqūt Khān is mentioned as Yāqūt Khān II in his inscriptions (pp. 74-75 *infra*), also shows that Qāsim and not Sumbul was the first to receive the title.

Sidi Khairiyat

Khairiyat Khān, the next Sīdī chief, was one of the leaders of the revolt of 1670, as stated above. He had become the governor of the land dominions of the Janjira region, early in 1671,

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[1] The only other platform containing graves inside the fort is near the *Ḥujra*. It contains the mortal remains of the children of Yāqūt Khān I (see pp. 64, 65, 66, 67, *infra*).

[2] Sarkār, *op.cit.*, pp. 268-69 ; *MSG*, Kolaba District, pp. 85,87.

[3] Pārasnis and others, *op.cit.*, p. 91. Sīdī Qāsim's command of the fleet in July 1676 is also proved by Bānāji, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[4] Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 262 ; Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

with a rank of 200 men, 100 horse.[1] According to Bhonsle, he was made a *subedār* as early as 1659, and it was he who commanded the Sīdīs against Shāmrāj Pant in that year and defeated him and also defeated the fresh body of troops which Shivāji had sent under Raghunāth Pant.[2] But he has not quoted any evidence.

Sīdī Khairiyat along with Sīdī Qāsim captured Danda-Rajpuri which was taken as early as in 1661 by Shivāji, who for the next nine years was striving in vain to capture Janjira itself, and killed Raghunāth Ballāl, the Marāṭhā commandant.[3] In reward for this achievements, both the title of Khān and increase in rank.[4] Khairiyat Khān tenaciously defended his charge of received Danda-Rajpuri which Shivāji tried to wrest from him[5] till the death of the latter in 1680 and also foiled the attempts of his successor Sambhāji to take Janjira. On the 28th August 1682 (5th Ramaḏān 1093), robes of honour were sent through Bahramand Khān to Sīdī Khairiyat and Sīdī Yāqūt by Aurangzeb for meritorious service.[6] By 1690, Khairiyat completely recovered the possessions lost to the Marāṭhās in 1659.[7]

According to Bhonsle, under order of the Mughal emperor, Khairiyat went with his army to reinforce the siege of Sinhgarh and conquered the fort, and was rewarded with the title of Khān-i-'Ālī Shān. Khairiyat Khān died in 1696 at Raigarh, and his body was brought to Khokri and interred in the tomb constructed by himself.[8] In view of the date of his death, which is explicitly given in the record under study, it is clear that the attribution to him, of the conquest of Anjanvel which took place in 1699, is wrong.[9]

II. EPITAPH OF KHAIRIYAT KHĀN, FROM KHOKRI

The second inscription of the group is chronologically a little later than the following ones, but it is studied here, as it refers to Khairiyat Khān, who was, as we have just seen above, the next chief.

The slab measuring 82 by 40 cm., is fixed over the door of his tomb, situated at Khokri, about two kilometres from Danda-Rajpuri.[10] It contains four lines of writing in Arabic, recording that Khairiyat Khān expired on Thursday, 7th Rabī' I 1108 (24th September 1696). The letters, particularly in the first line, are damaged due to the weathering of the stone. The style of writing is *Thulth* of quite a pleasing type. It will be observed that a curious mistake occurs in the fourth line of the text : the positions of the second and the third digits of the year are interchanged. The correct date is given in words.

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[1] Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 262 ;, *MSG* Kolaba District, p. 85 ; Khāfī Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

[2] Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 37. Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 257 and *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 82, do not associate Khairiyat Khān at all with these engagements.

[3] Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 264 ; *MSG*, Kolaba District, pp. 85-86. Only Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 210, gives the name of the Marāṭhā chief.

[4] Khāfī Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 228 ; *MSG*, Kolaba district, p. 86.

[5] Khāfī Khān, *op. cit.* p. 266, but on p. 268, Sīdī Qāsim is stated to be the governor of Danda-Rajpuri.

[6] Sāqī Musta'id ; Khān, *Ma'āthir-i-Ālamgīrī* (Calcutta, 1871), p. 221.

[7] Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 309 ; Bhonsle, *op.cit.*, p.54.

[8] Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[9] *MSG*, Ratnagiri District (Bombay, 1962), p. 735. Incidentally, *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 94, tends to suggest that Anjanvel was conquered about a decade earlier.

[10] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 150.

The text of the epitaph has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVII (b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن [الرحيم]

(۲) الحمد لله وحده فقد انتقل المرحوم خ[ير]يتخان [ر]حمه الله يوم الخميس سابع من ربيع الاو[ل]

(۳) [سن]ة ثمان و ماية و الف من الهجرة النبوية افضل الصلوة و السلام على صاحبها

(۴) سنه ۱۰۱۸

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Praise be to Allāh who is the One ! Khairiyat Khān, may Allāh have mercy on him, passed away on Thursday, the 7th of Rabī'u'l-Awwal,

(3) (in the) year eight and one hundred and one thousand, from the Migration of the Prophet, may the best benedictions and salutations be on him !

(4) Year (A.H.) 1018 (*recte* 1108)[1] (7 Rabī' I 1108=24 September 1696).

Sidi Yaqut Khan I

Khairiyat Khān was succeeded by his brother Sīdī Qāsim entitled Yāqūt Khān, as the governor of the land dominions as well.

The next eight inscriptions in this study refer to Yāqūt Khān I and different members of his family. Their importance as an important source cannot be overstressed, since they constitute the only records which furnish any information about the family of this great Sīdī chief, who himself does find mention in the chronicles of the period, particularly the English Factory Records. Of these epigraphs, those except Nos. IV and IX form the epitaphs of his wife, sons and daughters respectively ; the wife, according to her epitaph, had predeceased him, while the two sons and three daughters had survived him. It is only these inscriptions which have preserved the names of these members of the family of the Sīdī admiral.

Yāqūt Khān, whose original name was Qāsim, was distinguished in his community for bravery, capacity and cunning.[2] In 1670, he received the rank of 300 men, 100 horse and was made the governor of Janjira in 1671, as already seen above. The so-called conferment of the title Yāqūt Khān on the successive Sīdī admirals by the Mughal emperor, has already been commented upon in the preceding lines and need not be repeated here. But it may be noted here that his name Qāsim, used in the Factory records, does not appear in the Persian sources nor in any of the inscriptions studied here. Khāfī Khān merely calls him Sīdī Yāqūt.[3]

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[1] This is engraver's mistake for 1108, as stated above.

[2] Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

[3] Khāfī Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM JANJIRA

(Plates XVI—XXII)

(*a*) Epitaph of Sīdī Sumbul, A.H. 1087, Janjira (p. 57)

Scale : ·25

(*b*) Epitaph of Sīdī Khairiyat Khān, A.H. 1018 (sic.), Khokri (p. 60)

Scale : ·18

In 1671, Yāqūt Khān received the title with an increase in rank consequent upon the conquest of Danda-Rajpuri.[1] About October 1675, he was appointed to succeed Sumbul as the admiral of the Mughal fleet. The latter was reluctant to hand over, and it was only on his murder in April 1676, that Qāsim Yāqūt Khān took over command of the fleet. In the same year, Moro Pant, Peshwā of Shivāji, besieged Janjira and prepared floating platforms, to escalade the walls, but Yāqūt Khān appeared with his fleet, broke the line of investment, burnt the floating platforms and forced the Marāṭhās to raise the siege in December 1676.[2]

Towards the end of November 1679, Yāqūt Khān joined the British off Khanderi and directed a cannonade on the Marāṭhās for some days. But as the Marāṭhās could not be dislodged from that island, he fortified another island opposite it named Underi, in January 1680, much to the consternation of the English and made it his base. On 26th January, Daulat Khān, the Marāṭhā admiral, attacked the Sīdī base at Underi, but sustained defeat with the loss of four war-ships, several vessels and five hundred men. The English, who were not reconciled to his possession of Underi, entered into an agreement with Shivāji not to allow Yāqūt Khān to winter at Bombay, whereupon the latter entered the harbour with his whole fleet on 27th February 1680, landed on the south shore, burnt some villages and captured many men. He again molested the English at Bombay in May 1680. About three months later, a party of Marāṭhās landed in the dark at Khanderi, but Yāqūt Khān, receiving intelligence, hastened to the island and captured or killed majority of them. He stayed at Bombay till the end of December 1680. Sometime in the beginning of 1681, he went to Surat and on some pretext, seized the goods of the East India Company, maltreated their servants and besieged the Factory, leaving for the English no alternative but to bribe him to the tune of Rupees 30,000. Later on, he captured some Marāṭhā subjects as prisoners from the shores of Bombay. In 1682, he defeated the Marāṭhā fleet under Sīdī Miṣrī, a near relation of Sīdī Sumbul, who was made a prisoner, and captured or sunk many Marāṭhā vessels. Early 1683, he again in molested the English at Bombay, and left that place in October only.[3]

Yāqūt Khān again appeared at Bombay in April 1684, but not getting permission to anchor, went to Underi. He must have repaired to Danda-Rajpuri some time after this, for in February 1686, we find him leaving Danda-Rajpuri to capture the fort of Kalyan, which he besieged. He had to raise the siege after two days to go in pursuit of Prince Akbar. He invaded Bombay under Aurangzeb's orders and had almost conquered the island in 1689-90. In 1699, he captured Govalkot and requested the English to help him to carry a big gun to Janjira.[4]

It was Yāqūt Khān who took up the work of the reconstruction of the Janjira fort, shattered by the Marāṭhās in 1682, under the supervision of his governor Sīdī Surūr, in 1700, as recorded in inscription No. XI.[5] According to Bhonsle, he sent parties to plunder the Marāṭhā country to provide funds for this expenditure, but on account of the representation from the Marāṭhās, he was sent for by the emperor, who on being apprised of the correct position, bestowed on him the title of Khān-i-Amārat-Nishān.[6]

Yāqūt Khān died on the 30th Jumādā II 1118 (28th September 1706), according to the epitaph on his tomb.[7] This epitaph is non-extant now, in the sense that the letters on the tablet have completely flaked off due to weathering. Fortunately, Prof. B. D. Verma of Poona had

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[1] Khāfī Khān, *op. cit.*
[2] Sarkār, *op.cit.*, pp. 268-69, 273, 274, 275.
[3] Bānāji, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32, 33, 35.
[4] Bānāji, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 38, 39, 40, 53, 57 ; Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
[5] Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, p. 58, places it in 1701.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

prepared its impression quite some time back. In view of this, the statement that he died in 1707 is wrong.[1]

III. EPITAPH OF YĀQŪT KHĀN'S WIFE

The earliest of the eight inscriptions, referring to Yāqūt Khān and his family, is the epitaph of his wife Sittī Zuhra. Engraved on an arch-shaped tablet, measuring 40 by 65 cm., fixed at the head of another grave on the above-mentioned platform near the Jāmi'-Masjid in the Janjira Fort,[2] it contains nine lines of Arabic text carved in ***Thulth*** letters of a tolerably good type. It purports that Sittī Zuhra, wife of Yāqūt Khān, passed away on the night of Friday, 18th Ṣafar 1098 (24th December 1686).

The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (*a*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) الحمد لله وحده اما بعد فقد انتقلت

(۳) من دار الفناء الى دار البقاء مقبلة على ربها

(۴) الغفور الامة المرحومة الماجورة ستى زهره

(۵) زوجة یاقوتخان ليلة الجمعة ثمانية عشر خلون من

(۶) شهر صفر سنة ثمانية و تسعين بعد الالف من الهجرة

(۷) النب[وية] على صاحبها افضل الصلوة و السلام رحمها

(۸) [الله رحمة الابر]ار و اسكنها فى جنته مع الاخيار

(۹) ۱۰۹[۸]

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Praise be to God, who is the One ! To come to the point : Passed away

(3) from the transitory abode to the everlasting abode, received (into His proximity) by her Nourisher (who is)

(4) the Pardoner, the creature who is shown mercy, the recompensed, Sittī Zuhra,

(5) wife of Yāqūt Khān, in the night of Friday, the 18th of the

(6) month of Ṣafar, year eight and ninety above one thousand, after the Migration

(7) of the Prophet, may the best of benedictions and salutations be upon him ! May Allāh

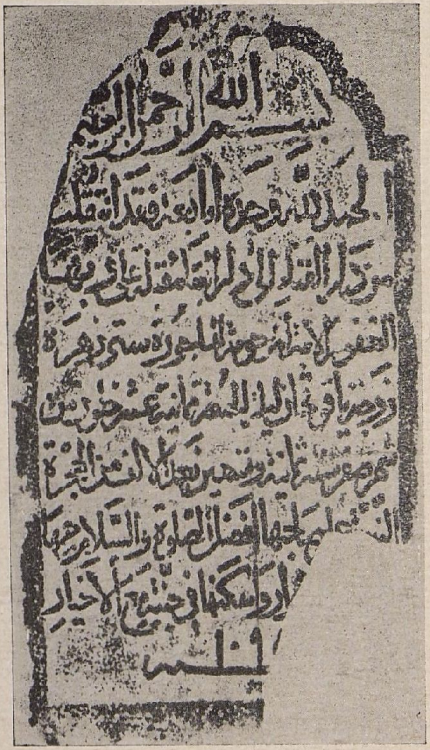
---

[1] *MGS*, Kolaba District, p. 94.

[2] *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 144.

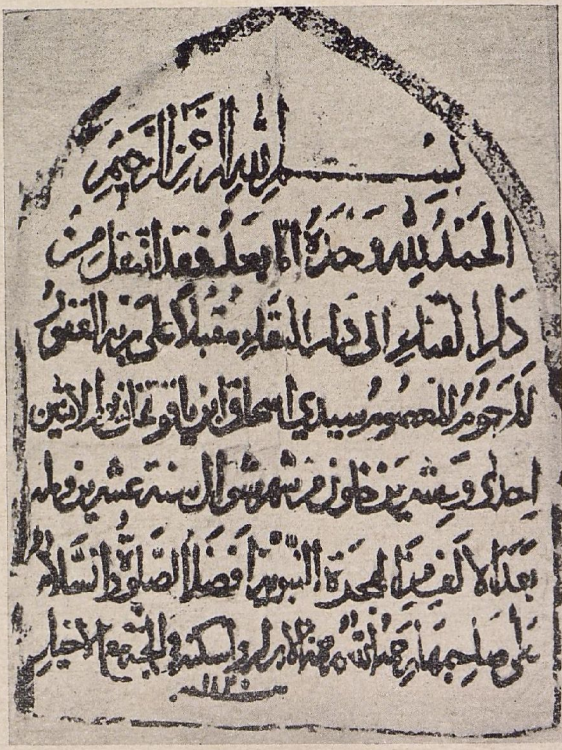
PLATE XVIII

(*a*) Epitaph of Yāqūt Khān's wife, Janjira (p. 62)



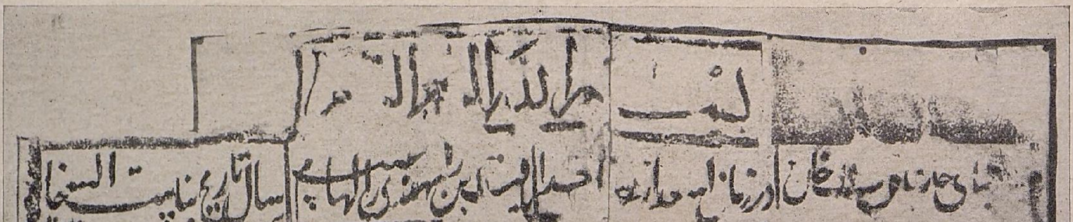
SCALE : ·17

(*b*) Epitaph of his son, same place (p. 64)



SCALE : ·28

(*c*) Inscription from his palace, A.H. 1104, Rajpuri (p. 63)



SCALE : ·1

(8) have on her mercy, like unto the pious ones and give her abode in His Paradise, along with the righteous ones!

(9) Year (A.H.) 1098 (18 Ṣafar 1098=24 December 1686).

The epigraph, so far as I know, is the only document which quotes the name of the wife of Yāqūt Khān I and the date of her death.

It is also important in that it corroborates the fact that the title Yāqūt Khān was conferred on Sīdī Qāsim, during the life-time of Khairiyaṭ Khān whose death occurred a decade after the date of this epigraph.

IV. INSCRIPTION OF THE PALACE OF YĀQŪT KHĀN

The slab bearing the second inscription of Yāqūt Khān I and fourth of the group is fixed on the gate of the ruined palace called Hāthī-Maḥal, at Rajpuri on the mainland.[1] It measures 1.82 m. by 32 cm. and contains two lines. The first is in Arabic comprising *Bismi'llāh*, which is inscribed in *Naskh* characters. The second line contains two verses in Persian, written in *Nasta'līq*, recording, in a chronogram, the construction of the house (i.e. palace) of Yāqūt Khān in 1692-93. The name of the composer reads like Mahdawī. The date is also inscribed in figure.

The record is quite important, as it provides a concrete proof of the fact that by 1692, the Sīdīs felt completely secure against the danger of the Marāṭhā attack and were in such a strong position that they could not resist the temptation of building a palace on the site of the ruined fort of Danda-Rajpuri, which was, we are told, destroyed by accidental explosion of the powder magzine in 1671, when the Sīdīs took the place from the Marāṭhās.[2]

The text which is damaged in some places, has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (*c*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) [شـ]ـد بنای خانهٔ یاقوت خان   در زمان اسعد از فضل خدا

یافت این را مهدوی(؟) ز الهام غیب   سال تاریخ بنا بیت السخا

۱۱۰۴

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) The house (i.e. palace) of Yāqūt Khān was constructed at the most auspicious time, through the bounty of God.

Through the inspiration from the Unseen, Mahdawī found the year and date of construction in (the words) 'the house of generosity'. (A.H.) 1104 (1692-93 A.D.).

The chronogram contained in the last phrase works out to A.H. 1104, also given in figure.

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[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 155.

[2] Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

V. EPITAPH OF YĀQŪT KHĀN'S SON

The fifth record of the article is the epitaph of one of the sons of Yāqūt Khān. The arch-shaped tablet measuring 40 by 40 cm. appears as the headstone of one of the graves on a platform, near the building locally called *Ḥujra* in the Janjira fort.[1] Comprising eight lines in Arabic, inscribed in fairly exquisite *Thulth*, the epitaph records Monday, 21st Shawwāl 1120 (23rd December 1708), as the date of the demise of Sīdī Isḥāq, son of Yāqūt Khān. The 21st Shawwāl, it may be pointed out fell on Thursday and not on Monday.

The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (b)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) الحمد لله وحده اما بعد فقد انتقل من

(٣) دار الفناء الی دار البقاء مقبلا علی ربه الغفور

(٤) المرحوم المعصوم سیدی اسحاق ابن یاقوتخان یوم الاثنین

(٥) احدی و عشرین خلون من شهر شوال سنة عشرین و ماية

(٦) بعد الالف من الهجرة النبوية افضل الصلوة و السلام

(٧) علی صاحبها رحمه الله رحمة الابرار و اسکنه فی الجنة مع الاخیار

(٨) سنة ١١٢٠

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Praise be to Allāh who is the One ! To come to the point : Passed away

(3) from the temporary abode to the everlasting one (and) accepted by his pardoning Nourisher,

(4) the deceased, the innocent, Sīdī Isḥāq, son of Yāqūt Khān, on Monday,

(5) 21st of the month of Shawwāl, year twenty and one hundred and one thousand

(6) after the Migration of the Prophet, may the best of benedictions and salutation

(7) be on him ! May Allāh have mercy on him as in the case of the pious ones and provide him place in Paradise along with the righteous ones !

(8) Year (A.H.) 1120 (21 Shawwāl 1120=23 December 1708, which was Thursday).

[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 148. The other graves belong to other members of Yāqūt Khān's family, as will be seen from the following lines.

Nothing is known about Isḥāq's career from any source. His very existence would have remained unknown but for this epigraph. Bhonsle wrongly puts his death as well as that of his brother (see p. 67 *infra*) in the lifetime of Yāqūt Khān himself.[1]

VI. EPITAPH OF YĀQŪT KHĀN'S DAUGHTER

The sixth record to be studied in this article and fourth pertaining to the family of Yāqūt Khān I, is engraved on the headstone of another grave on the same platform, near the *Ḥujra*.[2] The slightly weathere arch-shaped tablet, measuring 40 by 65 cm., is inscribed with eight-line Arabic text, in *Naskh* characters in relief. According to it, the death of Sittī Zainab, daughter of Yāqūt Khān, occurred on Friday, 30th Shawwāl 1120 (31st December 1708). It may be pointed out that Zainab expired within ten days of the death of her brother Isḥāq.

The epitaph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (*a*)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) الحمد لله وحده اما بعد انتقلت من دار

(٣) الفناء الى دار البقاء مقبلة على ربه (كذا) الغفور المرحومة

(۴) المعصومة ستى زينب بنت ياقوتخان يوم الجمعة ثلثون

(٥) خلون من شهر شوال سنة عشرين وماية بعد الالف

(٦) من الهجرة النبوية افضل الصلوة و السلام على صاحبها

(٧) رحمها الله رحمة الابرار و اسكنها فى الجنة مع الاخيار

(٨) سنة ١١٢٠

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Praise be to Allāh, who is the One ! To come to the point : Passed away from the abode

(3) of transitoriness to the everlasting abode (and) accepted before her pardoning Nourisher, the deceased,

(4) the innocent, Sittī Zainab, daughter of Yāqūt Khān, on Friday, 30th of

(5) the month of Shawwāl, year twenty and one hundred and one thousand

(6) after the Migration of the Prophet, may the best of benedictions and salutations be upon him !

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[1] Bhonsle, *op.cit.*, p. 61.

[2] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 147.

(7) May Allāh have mercy on her along with the pious ones and provide an abode for her in Paradise in the company of the righteous ones !

(8) Year A.H. 1120 (30 Shawwāl 1120=31 December 1708).

VII. EPITAPH OF ANOTHER DAUGHTER OF YĀQŪT KHĀN

The next inscription of the group and fifth mentioning Yāqūt Khān I, is engraved on the arch-shaped headstone of a third grave on the same platform,[1] measuring 42 by 53 cm. It comprises eight lines of Arabic writing which purports that Sittī Kulthūma, daughter of Yāqūt Khān, died on the night of Friday, 13th of Jumādā I 1126 (16th May 1714). Here also, 13th Jumādā I of this year fell on Sunday and not on Friday. The style of writing is *Naskh* of a fairly ood type.

The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (*b*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) الحمد لله وحده اما بعد فقد انتقلت من دار الفناء

(۳) الى دار البقاء مقبلة على ربه (كذا) الغفور المرحومة المعصومة

(۴) ستى كلثومه بنت ياقوتخان ليلة الجمعة ثلاثة عشر

(۵) خلون من شهر جمادى الاول سنة ۱۱۲۶ ست و عشرين و ماية بعد الالف

(۶) من الهجرة النبوية افضل الصلوة و السلام على صاحبها

(۷) رحمها الله رحمة الابرار و اسكنها فى الجنة مع الاخيار

(۸) سنة ۱۱۲۶

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Praise be to Allāh who is the One ! To come to the point : Passed away from the temporary abode

(3) to the everlasting abode (and) was accepted before her pardoning Nourisher, the deceased the innocent,

(4) Sittī Kulthūma, daughter of Yāqūt Khān, on the night of Friday, the 13th

(5) of the month of Jumādā I, year 1126, twenty-six and one thousand and one hundred

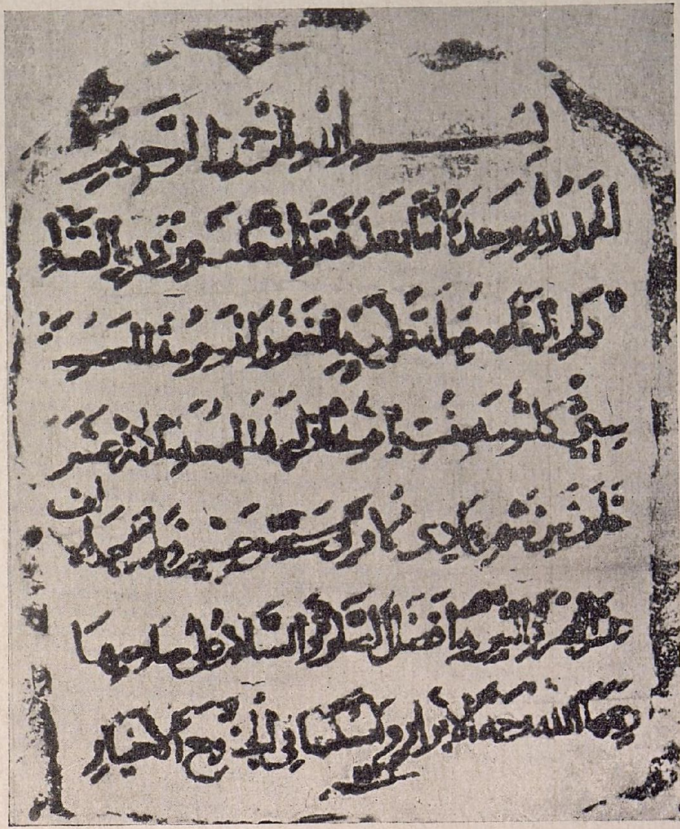
(6) after the Migration of the Prophet, may the best of benedictions and salutations be on him !

[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 145.

(*a*) Epitaph of Yāqūt Khān's daughter,
Janjira (p. 65)

SCALE : ·2

(*b*) Epitaph of his another daughter,
same place (p. 66)



SCALE : ·25

(7) May Allāh have mercy on her along with the pious ones and provide an abode for her in Paradise in the company of the righteous ones !

(8) Year (A. H.) 1126 (Friday, 13 Jumādā I 1126=16 May 1714).

13th Jumādā I of this year was Saturday-Sunday.

VIII. EPITAPH OF ANOTHER SON OF YĀQŪT KHĀN

The eighth inscription of this study and sixth of Yāqūt Khān's family, belongs to the fourth grave on the platform near the *Ḥujra*.[1] The arch-shaped headstone measures 42 by 62 cm. and contains an eight-line text in Arabic, carved in relief in *Naskh* characters, recording Thursday, 10th Jumādā II 1127 (2nd June 1715) as the date of the death of Sīdī ʿAbdu'l-Ghafūr, son of Yāqūt Khān. It will be noted that ʿAbdu'l-Ghafūr had not predecesed Yāqūt Khān as stated by Bhonsle.[2]

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XX (b)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) الحمد لله وحده اما بعد فقد انتقل من داد

(٣) الفناء الى دار البقاء مقبلا على ربه الغفور المرحوم

(٣) المعصوم سيدى عبد الغفور ابن ياقوتخان يوم الخميس عاشر

(٥) خلون من شهر جمادى الاخر سنة سبعة و عشرين و ماية بعد

(٦) الالف من الهجرة النبوية افضل الصلوة و السلام على صاحبها

(٧) رحمه الله رحمة الابرار و اسكنه فى الجنة مع الاخيار

(٨) سنة ١١٢٧

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Praise be to Allāh who is the One ! To come to the point : Passed away from the abode

(3) of transitoriness to the everlasting abode (and) accepted before his pardoning Nourisher, the deceased,

(4) the innocent, Sīdī ʿAbdu'l-Ghafūr, son of Yāqūt Khān, on Thursday, the 10th

(5) of the month of Jumādā II, year seven and twenty and one hundred after

(6) one thousand, from the Migration of the Prophet, may the best of benedictions and salutations be on him !

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[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 146.

[2] Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

(7) May Allāh have mercy on him along with the pious ones and provide a place for him in Paradise along with the righteous ones!

(8) Year (A.H.) 1127 (10 Jumādā 1127=2 June 1715).

IX. EPIGRAPH ON A MOSQUE AT KHOKRI

This epigraph, the seventh to mention a family member of Yāqūt Khān, appears over the central *miḥrāb* of the mosque, near the Sīdī tombs in Khokri, near Rajpuri.[1] The first of its five-line text, is devoted to *Bismi'llāh* and is executed in *Naskh* characters, the next three contain a Persian fragment, carved in *Nasta'līq* characters, and the last line rcords the year. It states that the mosque was built by Ḥabībā Bībī, daughter of the deceased Yāqūt Khān, a brave man who strove in the path of Allāh. The date, contained in a chronogram composed by one Tuḥfa and yielding A.H. 1134 (1721-22 A.D.), is also given in figure.

There is nothing particular about the style of writing.

The text, engraved on a tablet measuring 64 by 12 cm., is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate XX (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) مسجدے کردہ بنا بہر صلوۃ   شد عماد الدین را زو ارتفاع

(۳) بنت مرحوم خدا یاقوتخان   فی سبیل الله جاهد آن شجاع

(۴) گفت تاریخ تمامش تحفه عقل   از حبیبه بی بی این خیر البقاع

(۵) سنه ۱۱۳۴

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) This mosque was built for offering prayers — and the pillar of religion has acquired elevation through it — by

(3) the daughter of Yāqūt Khān the brave, who strove in the path of Allāh and was taken into His mercy.

(4) Wisdom conveyed to Tuḥfa, the date of its completion (in the words) 'this best of place is (built) by Ḥabība Bībī'.

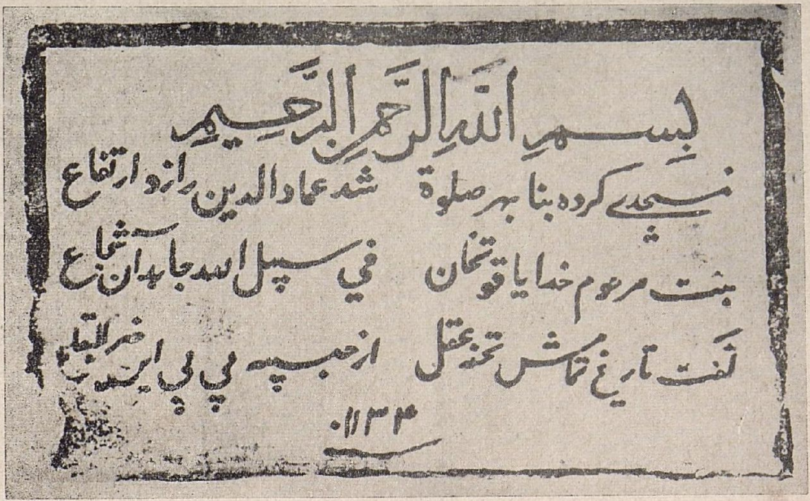
(5) Year (A.H.) 1134 (1721-22 A.D.).

X. EPITAPH OF A THIRD DAUGHTER OF YĀQŪT KHĀN

The tenth record of this article and the eighth and last inscription referring to Yāqūt Khān, is the epitaph of the above-mentioned Ḥabība Bībī. One of the sarcophaga in the tomb of Yāqūt Khān situated at Khokri, contains the remains of this lady, according to the inscription of seven

[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 153.

(*a*) Inscription of a mosque built by another daughter of Yāqūt <u>Kh</u>ān, Khokri (p. 68)



SCALE : ·19

(*b*) Epitaph of another son of Yāqūt <u>Kh</u>ān, Janjira (p. 67)

SCALE : ·21

lines in Arabic prose and Persian verse engraved on its top.[1] It records A.H. 1141 (1728 A.D.) as the date of the death of Sittī Ḥabība, daughter of the late Yāqūt Khān. The date is given in figure only.

The style of writing of the Arabic text is *Naskh* and of the Persian, *Nasta'līq*.

The text which occupies a writing space of 17 by 77 cm., has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXII (b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۳) ستے حبيبه دختر جنت مكان ياقوتخان

(۴) شربت مرگی بخورد و کرده حق تسلیمجان

(۵) وقت رحلت چون رسيد و هاتفش آواز داد

(۶) جنت الفردوس را از بهر او پر گل کشاد

(۷) سنه ۱۱۴۱ هجری

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.

(3) Sittī Ḥabība, daughter of Yāqūt Khān, the dweller in Paradise,

(4) tasted the syrup of death and submitted her soul to the Lord.

(5) When the time of her departure came, the invisible angel called out to her (and)

(6) opened the highest paradise, full of flowers, for her.

(7) Year (A.H.) 1141 (1728-29 A. D.)

Sidi Surur

The next five inscriptions contain the name of Sīdī Surūr, the first chief after whom the Janjira principality bacame hereditory. He was one of the ablest Sīdī commandants of Yāqūt Khān I, who according to Bhonsle, ravaged the Marāṭhā country and exacted tribute from Mudhkhora, sometime after 1701, to meet the cost of extensive repairs being carried out to the Janjira fort.[2] On the death of Yāqūt Khān, in 1706, Surūr who was at the time in command of the island-fort of Padmadurg near Janjira, was unanimously elected as the Sīdī chief.[3] He adopted the title of Yāqūt Khān II. It was during his regime that Bālāji Vishvanāth and Kanhoji Angrey attacked

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1 *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 152.

2 Bhonsle, *op.cit.*, p. 59.

3 *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 94.

Janjira in 1714 and forced the Sīdīs to surrender eleven forts.[1] In about 1731, Janjira was attacked by Chimāji Appā, but he had to retreat. Surūr was not only able to defend his possessions, but also to take the offensive resulting in much loss to the adjoining Marāṭhā territories. Being wary of constant warfare, he adopted a policy of compromise and ceded to the Peshwā, half of Rajpuri, Tala, Ghosala, Nizampur, Goregaon, Birwadi and half of Govele. Two years later, he succeeded in beating off an attempt to capture Janjira fort by Angrey and the Peshwā, who had entered into a secret treaty with the Sīdī chief's best officer Ya'qūb Khān.[2] Surūr died in 1734 and was buried in the grand mausoleum, built during his own life-time, at Khokri. It is a pity that the inscriptional slab over the entrance of his tomb was removed in recent times by some one for unknown reasons.

XI. INSCRIPTION FROM THE JANJIRA FORT

This inscription, eleventh of the present study, was set up when Surūr was yet subordinate to Yāqūt Khān. The epigraphical tablet measures 60 by 75 cm. and is fixed on the inner side of the right bastion of the imposing main entrance of the Janjira fort.[3] It is inscribed with three Persian couplets carved in six panels in fairly good *Nasta'līq* style. The poetry of the epigraph is quite mediocre. The text records that the two *hulmuk*-bastions[4] were built by Sīdī Surūr in the year A. H. 1111 (1699-1700 A. D.), afforded by a chronogram. It may be noted that the date must be that of the commencement of the construction, since according to the other inscription on the opposite side, which is studied next, the two bastions are stated to have been completed five years later.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXI (b)

(۱) یا الهی فضل تو شد بر نبی خیر الانام

(۲) برکت خاتم نبی سیدی سرور باشد مدام

(۳) نیک نامی در جهان بخت عوالی شد ظهور

(۴) هر دو هل مک برج را کرده بنا سیدی سرور

(۵) باکمال عقل تو قلعه جزیره کرده نور

(۶) آن بنای برج را تاریخ گشته از ظهور

TRANSLATION

(1) O Allāh! Thy grace was bestowed on the Prophet, the best of mankind.

(2) May Sīdī Surūr live for ever, through the blessings of the last of the Prophets!

(3) His fame became manifest in the world through his lofty fortune.

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[1] *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 97; Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

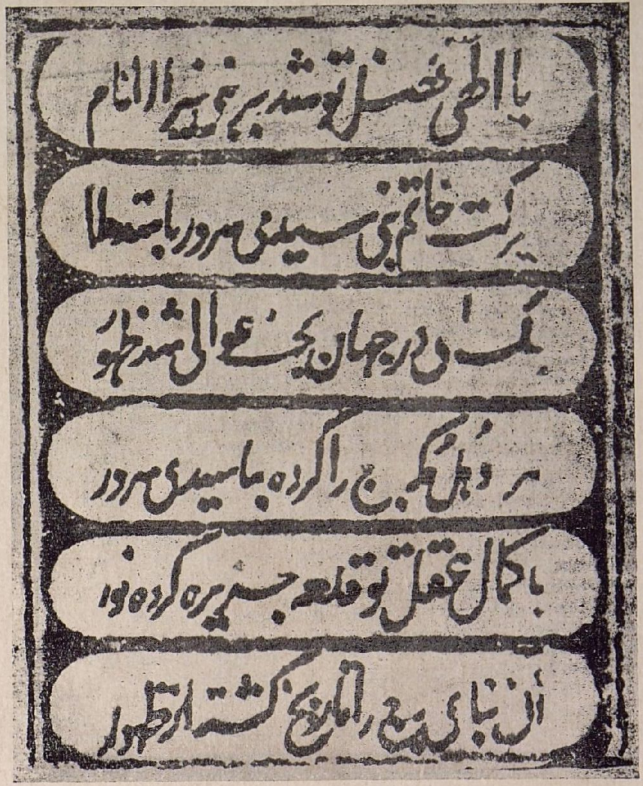
[2] *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 102.

[3] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 139.

[4] *Hulmuk* means a sort of protecting bastion in front of the main gateway of a fort. For details and some interesting literary references, please see *Epigraphia Indica*, *Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1955 & 1956, p. 76.

(*a*) Epitaph of Ḥalīma, daughter of Yāqūt Khān II, from Janjira (p. 73)

SCALE : ·2



(*b*) Inscription on a bastion of the main entrance, Janjira Fort (p. 70)

SCALE : ·16

(4) Both the *hulmuk*-bastions were constructed by Sīdī Surūr.

(5) You have illuminated the fort of Jazīra (i.e. Janjira), by the perfection of your wisdom.

(6) Hence, the date for the foundation is contained in the word 'manifestation'!

The numerical value of the last word adds up to A. H. 1111 (1699-1700 A. D.)

This is an important record furnishing valuable information about the history of the construction of, or repairs carried out, to the fort of Janjira. It will be observed that the name of the place is spelt as *Jazīra*, the Arabic word for island, of which Janjira is said to be the corruption. Also, the epigraph settles once for all the correct spelling of the name of this Sīdī chief, which like that of one of his predecessors Sīdī Sumbul is written by some as Surūl and even Rasūl.[1]

XII. ANOTHER EPIGRAPH FROM THE JANJIRA FORT

The record on the opposite wall, though dated five years later, is, in a way, continuation of the preceding record.[2] Engraved in relief on a slab measuring 87 by 60 cm., it consists of five lines in Persian, and the style of writing is *Nasta'līq* of a fairly high order. It runs to the effect that the two bastions which flank the main gate, were completed through the efforts of Sīdī Surūr, on the 17th of Dhi'l-Qa'da 1116 (2nd March 1705). In other words, it took five years to complete the construction.

The text is read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXII (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۲) بعنایات داور ذوالجلال و توفیقات بارگاه لایزال بنیاد ابد آباد

(۳) این هر دو برج پایدار بحسن نیت عوالی همم دو لتمدار سیدی سرور شهامت دثار

(۴) در ماه ذی قعده تاریخ هفدهم سنه ۱۱۱۶ از هجرت صفویه نبویه

(۵) صلی الله علیه و آله و سلم صورت سر انجام و فیض نظام دریافت

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Through the kindness of the Glorious Judge and guidance of the Eternal Audience-Hall, the everlasting foundation of

(3) both of these strong bastions, through the good intention and sublime magnanimity of the pivot of government, Sīdī Surūr, the brave,

(4) on the 17th of the month of Dhi'l-Qa'da, year 1116 from the noble Migration of the Prophet,

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[1] *MSG*, Kolaba District, pp. 102, 104 ; H. N. Sinha, *Rise of the Peshwas* (Allahabad, 1954), p. 172.

[2] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 140.

(5) may the peace and salutations of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, attained the shape of completion and grace of foundation (17 Dhi'l-Qa'da 1116=2 March 1705).

XIII. INSCRIPTION FROM THE ANJANVEL FORT

This record is unfortunately fragmentary and the name of the ruling chief is lost, except the first letter *S*, evidently of the word Sīdī, in the second hemistich. But there is no doubt that it belongs to Sīdī Surūr, as the missing name can only be read as Sīdī Surūr to rhyme with the first hemistich.

Its loose epigraphical tablet, originally fixed on the wall of the Anjanvel fort in the Ratnagiri district, was long back removed to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.[1] Now measuring 85 by 55 cm., it has lost some portion on the left and contains a five-line text in Persian prose and verse, inscribed in ordinary *Nasta'līq* characters, recording that in the time of the Chief (Sīdī Surūr), the strong and matchless fort (of Anjanvel) was constructed by Sīdī Sa'd,[2] the *qal'adār*. It is dated the 10th of Dhi'l-Ḥijja 1119 (21st February 1708), in the first regnal year. This regnal year must refer to the reign of the Mughal emperor Shāh 'Ālam I (1707-12) and not of Surūr, who had succeeded to the chiefship more than a year ago, and moreover, in another record from Janjira (p. 74), Shāh 'Ālam's suzerainty is clearly acknowledged.

In the gazetteer of Ratnagiri district where a corrupt translation of this record is given, Anjanvel fort is stated to have been attacked and captured in 1699, by Khairiyat Khān,[3] while in the revised edition of the Kolaba district gazetteer, it is asserted that Anjanvel was given by the Mughal emperor to Sīdī Qāsim in 1689, in reward for help rendered in the capture of Raygad.[4] These statements are somewhat confusing. Khairiyat Khān died in 1696 (see p. 60, *supre*) and was succeeded by his brother Sīdī Qāsim Yāqūt Khān I as the governor of Danda-Rajpuri. It was actually the latter who captured the fort of Anjanvel, soon after the death of his brother. He also took another fort nearby, called Govalkot in 1701.[5] Sīdī Qāsim died in 1706 and was succeeded by Sīdī Surūr *alias* Yāqūt Khān II, who had seven governors under him. One of them was Sīdī Sa'd, the builder of the fort mentioned in the record, who held charge of the fort of Govalkot and Anjanvel.[6]

The record is quite important. It gives the correct spelling of the name of Sīdī Sa'd, who is called Sīdī Sat or Saat by the modern writers.[7] Sa'd was a competent officer. For some personal reasons, he attacked the shrine of Parshuram, near Chiplun, in February 1727. As a result, Bākāji Nāyak, a subordinate of the Angrey, laid siege in 1732 to Anjanvel and Govalkot, which were ably defended by Sa'd, and the siege was raised through the intervention of the Pratinidhi.[8] In 1735, Sa'd took Bankot, and captured Rewas in a sudden attack in the next year.[9] Shāhu, being wary of Sīdī Sa'd's growing power, directed Vishvanāth to subdue him at any cost. Sa'd died a hero's death, defending himself bravely near Alibag in that year.[10]

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[1] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 173.

For the history of Anjanvel under Bijapur rule, based on old records, see *Proceedings of the Bhārat Itihās Samshodhak Mandal* Śaka 1835, pp. 319-41.

[2] The fort of Anjanvel is said in *ibid* to have been built during the 'Ādil Shāhī rule. Therefore, either Sa'd built it afresh or repaired it. The text has 'constructed'.

[3] *MSG*, Ratnagiri District, p. 735.

[4] *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 94; Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[5] Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 58.

[6] G. S. Sardesai, *History of the Marathas*, vol. II (Bombay, 1948), p. 136; Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

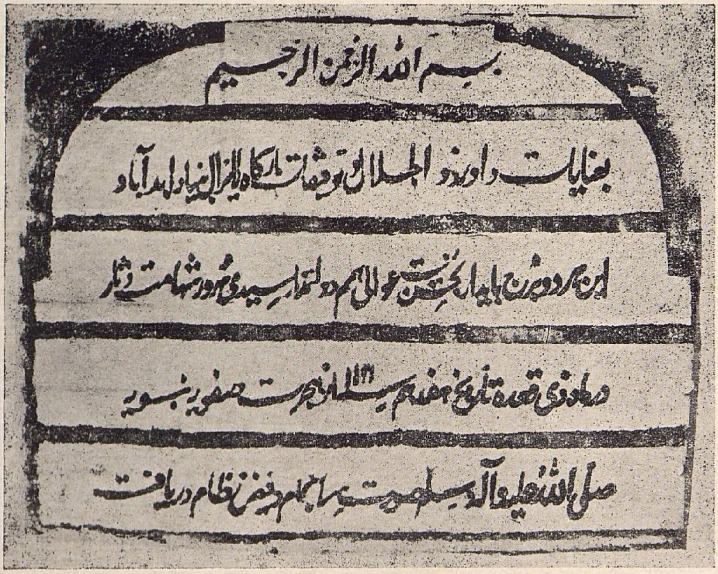
[7] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 140; Sinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 169, 172, 182, 184; C. K. Srinivasan, *Bajirao the First* (Bombay, 1961), pp. 87, 88, 92, 93.

[8] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 137.

[9] Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 92.

[10] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 140; Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

(*a*) Epigraph on another bastion of the main entrance, Janjira Fort (p. 71)

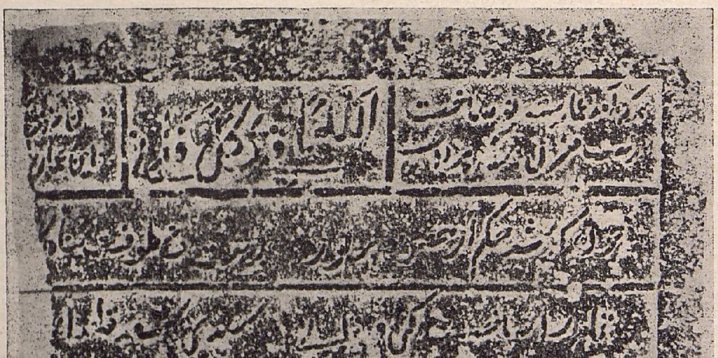


SCALE : ·2

(*b*) Epitaph of Yāqūt Khān's daughter, Khokri (p. 69)

SCALE : ·23

(*c*) Inscription from the Anjanvel Fort, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (p. 73)



SCALE : ·14

The text of the record has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXII (c)

(۱) هر که آمد عمارت نوساخت این ....

الله باقی و لکل فانی

رفت و منزل بدیگری پرداخت این عمارت..

(۲) چون که شد حکم از حضور پر نور ...... رفعت و سطوت پناه س[یدی سرور]

(۳) قلعه را ساخت و چوکی............نے سیدی سعد قلعدار...........................

(۴) تحریر فی التاریخ دهم ذی الحج سنه احد سنه هجرے یکهزار یکصدو نوزدهم در.........

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Everlasting and everything else is perishable !

Whoever came, built a new edifice, (but) left it to others when he passed away.

This...this building ....

(2) Since it was ordered by the illuminated presence of the asylum of loftiness and majesty, [Sīdī Surūr],

(3) Sīdī Sa'd, the *qal'adār*, constructed a fort, a *chawkī* and...................................

(4) Written on the 10th of the month of Dhi'l-Ḥijja, (regnal) year One, Hijrī year one thousand and one hundred and nineteen in...................(10 Dhi'l-Ḥijja 1119=21 February 1708).

XIV. EPITAPH OF SĪDĪ SURŪR'S DAUGHTER

The second inscription of the time of Sīdī Surūr Yāqūt Khān II, is an epitaph of his daughter. The slightly damaged arch-shaped stone on which it is inscribed measures 37 by 60 cm. and is fixed at the head-side of a grave on the platform, near the Jāmi'-Masjid in the Janjira fort, referred to above.[1] The text records that Sittī Ḥalīma, daughter of Sīdī Surūr *alias* Yāqūt Khān, died on the 23rd of Jumādā I 1120 (29th August 1708). Nothing is known about this lady.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۲) الحمد لله وحده اما بعد فقد انتقلت

(۳) من دار الفناء الی دار البقاء مقبلة علی ربه (کذا)

(۴) الغفور المرحومة المعصومة ستی حلیمه بنت

(۵) سیدے سرور عرف یاقوتخان یوم الاحد ث[لاث عشرون ؟]

(۶) خلون من شهر جمادی الاول فی سنة عشرین

[1] *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 145.

(۷) و مائة بعد الالف من الهجرة النبوية

(۸) افضل الصلوة و السلام على صاحبها

(۹) رحمها الله رحمة الابرار و اسكنها فى الجنة مع الاخيار

(۱۰) سنة ۱۱۲۰

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Praise be to Allāh who is the One ! To come to the point : Passed away

(3) from the temporary abode to the everlasting one and was acceptable to her Nourisher,

(4) the Pardonor, the innocent, the deceased, Sittī Ḥalīma, daughter of

(5) Sīdī Surūr *alias* Yāqūt Khān, on Sunday the twenty-third(?)

(6) of the month of Jumādā I of the year twenty

(7) and one hundred above one thousand, after the Migration of the Prophet,

(8) may the best of benedictions and salutations be upon him !

(9) May Allāh have mercy on her along with the pious ones and provide her a place in Paradise in the company of righteous ones !

(10) In the year (A. H.) 1120 (23 Jumādā I 1120=29 August 1708).

XV. ANOTHER INSCRIPTION FROM THE JANJIRA FORT

The third inscription of Yāqūt Khān II is fixed on the facade of the inner gate of the Janjira fort.[1] The huge slab measuring 2.85 m. by 20 cm. has weathered considerably, affecting its two-line writing. Greater portion of the text has, however, been deciphered. According to it, the fort of Jazīra (Janjira), was originally constructed by Fahīm Khān during the time of Niẓām Shāh the king of Dakhan (Deccan), in the year A. H. 984 (1576-77 A. D.),[2] and that the bastions, walls and the gate were reconstructed wholly by Yāqūt Khān the Second, in A. H. 1122 (1710-11 A.D.), during the reign of Shāh 'Ālam I, who is described as the Lord of the land and the sea.

The importance of this record is obvious. Apart from being one of the very few known records of the Mughal emperor Shāh 'Ālam I, it shows that the Sīdīs even after Aurangzeb's death continued to acknowledge Mughal suzerainty. The epigraph also helps to determine the history of the construction of the Janjira fort which took place at different times and periods.

The record has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (b)

(۱) از عون و فضل صانع منان ذوالمنن دور نظامشاه آن(؟) فرمان ده دکهن

در سال نبکک نهصد و هشتاد با چهار گشت از فهیم خان چو تعمیر آین حصار

[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 141.

[2] The original Niẓām Shāhī inscription is now fixed into the north-wall of the Musāfaron-kī-Masjid, built on the rampart of the fort (*ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 140).

(*a*) Inscription on the maingate, Janjira Fort (p. 75)

SCALE : ·12

(*b*) Inscription of Shāh 'Ālam I, Janjira Fort (p. 74)

SCALE : ·08

بار دگر تمامی برج و حصار و در (۲) در عهد شاه عالم خاقان بحر و [بر]

یاقوت خان ثانئ فیاض کرده است(؟) ز انسان که سر بطارم کیوان کشیده است

تاریخ چون بناء قلعه(؟) مبارک نوشته شد اینک عدیل سد سکندر جزیره شد

سنه ۱۱۲۲

TRANSLATION

(1) By the help and grace of the Beneficent and obliging Creater, in the reign of Niẕām Sh̲āh (Murtaḍā I), the king of Dakhan,

in the auspicious year nine hundred and eighty with four (A. H. 984=1576-77 A. D.), this fort was constructed by Fahīm Kh̲ān.

For the second time, all the bastions, the fort-wall and the gate were constructed

(2) in the reign of Sh̲āh 'Ālam, the lord of land and sea. Yāqūt Kh̲ān II, the generous, has rebuilt it in such a way that it has raised its head to the dome of the Saturn.

When the date of this blessed fort was written, it was found to be in the phrase 'lo, Jazīra has become a match to the wall of Alexander'.

Year (A.H.) 1122 (1710-11 A. D.).

XVI. ANOTHER EPIGRAPH FROM THE JANJIRA FORT

The last inscription of this study and the fifth of the time of Yāqūt Kh̲ān II, is fixed above the main gate of the Janjira fort,[1] at a considerable height, and it was a veritable achievement in itself to get its impressions prepared. As a matter of fact, but for the active help of Mr. 'Abdu'l-Gh̲afūr Sh̲a'bān, a leading resident of Janjira, it would not have been possible to copy it. Also commendable is the fortitude of Shri 'Abdu'l -Qādir Ṣiddīqī, Mechanic of our office, who prepared the impressions, precariously perched on a rope-sling, with the roaring sea below.

The inscriptional tablet was damaged by a cannon ball in 1733, when the Marāṭhās had besieged the fort,[2] and a portion of the writing is also affected by weather. It measures 1.4 m. by 87 cm. and contains seven Persian couplets incised in beautiful *Nasta'līq* characters, preceded by *Bismi'llāh* which is inscribed in *Naskh*.

The epigraph states that Yāqūt Kh̲ān established himself in Kokan and constructed anew the strong fort of Jazīra (i.e. Janjira) in A. H. 1140 (1727-28 A. D.). It also records A. H. 1118 (1706 A.D.), as the date of his accession to the throne, evidently on the death of Yāqūt Kh̲ān I.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) از فضل رب المستعان والا منش یاقوتخان

در ملک کوکن گشت چون بر مسند(؟) دولت مکین

---

[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 137.

[2] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

(۳) ز انعام فیضش بهره ور اعلی و هم ادنی شده

کس مثل او حاتمصفت نا دیده بر روی زمین

(۴) در مجلس داد و دهش در یست بر دریا بود

در معرکه بر دشمنان فتحش بود فتح مبین

(۵) اقبال روز افزون او صیت عدالت گستری

[انداخته در؟] شش جهت باصد هزاران آفرین

(۶) [آمد قو]ی بخت این ندا از آسمان بهر جلوس

۱۱۱۸ .... خرد ....

(۷) حصن جزیره کرده نو در محکمے و ارتفاع

ز ینسان که گوید عالمے نبود دگر مانند این

(۸) قلعه مرتب گشت چون تاریخ گفتا هاتفی

با زیب شد حصن حصین دوران ندیده این چنین

۱۱۴۰

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) By the grace of God whose aid is sought, when Yāqūt Khān of great magnanimity established himself firmly on the seat of government in the region of Kokan,

(3) the high and low (i. e. everyone) was benefited by the bounty of his favours. No one has seen a Ḥātim-like (i. e. generous) man like him on the surface of the whole earth.

(4) In the assembly of generosity, only those pearls which are in the sea are left over [1](and) in the battle, his victory over the enemies is a clear victory.

(5) His ever-increasing good fortune (has spread) fame of (his) dispensation of justice into the six directions (i.e. universe), with hundred thousand praises.

(6) (For the date of his) accession, the word 'very fortunate' was heard from the sky.......... ....wisdom...................................(A. H.) 1118 (1706 A. D.).

(7) He constructed anew the fort of Jazīra (i. e. Janjira) in such great strength and height that the whole world says that there is no (fort) like it.

(8) When the fort was completed, the angel from the Unseen said for its date, 'The strong fort was completed with all embellishments, (and) the Time has not witnessed a like thereof'. (A.H.) 1140 (1727-28 A.D.).

The chronograms contained in lines 6 and 8 give A.H. 1118 and 1140 respectively as the dates of the accession of Yāqūt Khān II and the completion of the fort.

---

[1] The meaning seems to be that only such pearls as were in the ocean could not be gifted away.

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